

Prevention. Prevention is a big element. We have passed under Republican leadership one of the largest prevention and education increases in the history of any Congress, and those programs are now under way. And, of course, even under the Republican control of the House since 1995, we have increased treatment some 26 plus percent. That is only the direct funds. There are many other indirect funds. But treatment again is not the only answer.

The other part of this equation, of course, is Mexico. I have been a critic of Mexico because of two things. First, United States policy towards Mexico which is a failed policy has been, and continues to be a failed policy, and Mexico is also the main trafficking route of that illegal narcotic that is produced in Colombia. In fact, we now know there are relationships of drug traffickers for both of those countries.

What is amazing is that this administration just weeks ago certified Mexico as cooperating in the war on drugs. General Barry McCaffrey went down to Mexico City, I have a report from the news, and he told reporters that Panama in particular faced a full scale assault from narcotics traffickers since last December's handover of the canal. Where were they then? He says, "They're switching back. There's a lot more now showing up in Haiti, Dominican Republic, Jamaica. Haiti is the problem."

General McCaffrey said in a briefing in the United States ambassador's residence in Mexico City on last Wednesday night. So he is down in Mexico, and he is saying Haiti is the problem on February 11. On February a few days later, I get the interim report from the drug czar's office, the highlights of the National Drug Threat Assessment for the year 2000, and the executive summary. Let me read some of it. It talks about cocaine.

Chicago has become a major source of cocaine, a hub for Mexican organizations. Then it goes on to heroin. It says, the average size of the heroin shipment is increasing and more Colombian heroin is being smuggled through Mexico. Then it goes on to methamphetamine. Florida has become an eastern hub for Mexican national methamphetamine organizations. Next on methamphetamine threat, it says Mexican organizations are expanding manufacturing and distribution eastward. The next one says the average purity of Mexican methamphetamine, it goes on and talks about that.

It talks about cocaine and crack findings. Mexican and Colombian groups control most of the cocaine transportation to the United States. It goes on and says Mexico remains the primary conduit for cocaine to the United States. The next sentence, there are two primary corridors for movement from South America to the U.S. One is the Mexico-Central American corridor. The next part of the assessment, threat assessment to the U.S. The Mexico-

Central American corridor accounted for 55 percent of the detected cocaine shipments for the first half of 1999. Then it goes on, Mexican traffickers generally control wholesale cocaine distribution.

Trends. Now we are up to trends. Mexican and Dominican trafficking groups are assuming a more prominent role in distribution. Trends. The DEA reports that Chicago has become a major distribution hub for Mexican organizations. It goes on.

Heroin. Mexico is one of the four major sources for heroin found in the U.S. Heroin. Heroin production for Mexico in 1998 is estimated at six metric tons. He does not tell you the figures we have gotten is that probably a 20 percent increase in heroin production in Mexico. Nearly all the heroin produced in Mexico is destined for the United States.

Mexican heroin is dominant in the West. Mexican traffickers rely on entrenched polydrug smuggling. Mexican organizations move heroin. Trends. The U.S. through Mexico. Mexican organizations. The average size of heroin shipments originating in Mexico. Projections. Mexican heroin. And then methamphetamine. It ends with Mexican national organizations.

But a few days before, Barry McCaffrey is in Mexico and he said Haiti is the problem, he said in a briefing in the U.S. ambassador's residence in Mexico. This same administration certified Mexico as cooperating. That certification gives them trade, finance, aid, and assistance, U.S. aid and assistance.

Do you know what the response from the administration is and from other groups and Mexicans? We should not have the United States certify whether we are cooperating. That should be given to another party, to a third party, to an international organization. So an international organization would decide whether or not Mexico is eligible to get continued trade, aid, and financial benefits from the United States of America.

Have we gone cuckoo? Here is the report that is given to me on the overall drug problems and trends. Mexico's name time after time, yet this President, this administration certified Mexico as cooperating and fully eligible for all the trade and finance estimates. I could blame this just on the administration, but there are too many others on both sides of the aisle who are willing to turn their back and take a dollar while illegal narcotics are pouring into our country.

The sad part about this, the saddest note about this is Mexico is slowly losing its grip on its national sovereignty. Corruption has turned to violence, and they are slaughtering in Mexico at an unprecedented rate in almost every state which is now controlled from the lowest police officer to the president's office in Mexico with illegal narcotics.

A sad tale but a tale that needs to be told to the Congress and the American people.

SLAVERY IN SUDAN

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. TOOMEY). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 1999, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, this evening I would like to address the House about a problem that has been around for the last 40 years at least in the country of Sudan, and that is the question of slavery, chattel slavery, out and out selling of men, women, and children in that part of the world.

□ 2000

First of all, let me just say that there are throughout the world problems as they relate to the abuse of children and the practice of slavery. We see it in Nepal, we see it in Burma, we see it in Bangladesh and Mauritania. But there is a tremendously extreme practice. They are all bad, they should all be corrected; but tonight I would like to deal with the country of the Sudan. The Sudan, one of the richest countries in the world with natural resources, but one of the most impoverished countries because of the practice of its government, a government which has been a brutal dictatorship, the al-Bashir government and Turabi, but ever since the independence of Sudan. Actually the first African nation to become independent on the continent back in January of 1956, even prior to its independence, there was a problem between the north and the south and from these many years of struggle, this question of slavery continued on, and today it continues. It is actually a travesty today to think that as we move into the new millennium, we have slavery being practiced in the world.

Mr. Speaker, I have had the opportunity to visit Sudan on a number of occasions. My first visit to Sudan was in 1993 when I visited there with Harry Johnston, a former Member who then chaired the Subcommittee on Africa, and we traveled to the south to the Sudan to explore and to see firsthand this problem. I have been back many times since. We saw the conditions there. In my recent trip just in June of last year with the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDO) and Senator BROWNBACK when we traveled to Loki in Kenya, which is a Sudanese refugee camp in Kenya, and then into the south of Sudan to Yei and Labone in southern Sudan to see again the terrible conditions by the NIF-lead government, the National Islamic Front government of al-Bashir and Turabi.

So we thought that we would have a dialogue this evening about this particular situation. I will begin by yielding such time as she may consume to the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia, and then she can yield back to me as I will continue on; and I am sure that she may have some additional comments as we move through almost in a colloquy, but to bring this dastardly situation to the attention of the public of the United States and the

world, because we cannot live in the new millennium and have practices that go back to medieval days.

So at this time I yield to the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia (Ms. NORTON).

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding. If I may, I would like to begin by acknowledging the work of the gentleman from New Jersey. He is a former chair of the Congressional Black Caucus and a senior member of the Committee on International Relations. He has indicated he has traveled to Sudan on a number of occasions. He has met with former slaves. He has pressed this Congress; he has pressed the administration. I have been bothered for years by slavery around the world. The gentleman has indicated that it is not confined to Sudan, tragically. But I have been, as he has been, particularly drawn to slavery in an African nation. He and I are two of almost 40 Members of this body who are direct descendants of African slaves, so it is perhaps natural that we would be drawn especially to slavery in any part of Africa.

Because I had been so concerned and could think of very little to do, I passed the gentleman in the hall and indicated to him that perhaps he and I might do a Special Order, because I felt so powerless and I felt his leadership and knew that there were many others like him; but that this problem simply had not had the voice that I think it is beginning to get tonight. Our voices represent the entire Congressional Black Caucus, many Members of this House and the Senate, as I shall indicate in a moment.

I should also acknowledge the work of our former colleague here in the House who is now in the Senate, Sam BROWNBACK. I have not spoken to Senator BROWNBACK, but I do know that he has taken slavery, and especially slavery in Sudan, as a cause of his own. He is not of our party, but the gentleman from New Jersey and I cannot imagine that slavery would be a partisan issue, and we are so pleased to see that there has been bipartisanship on this issue. This is, after all, April 4.

April 4 is a somber day for America, because it is the day, of course, that Martin Luther King, Jr., was gunned down. So it is a day that lives in infamy, and it lives in remembrance. I have just come from a radio program where I was speaking to young people who know nothing of that day, but if there is any way to remember that day, it is certainly to remember that slavery still exists in this world, and discrimination and racism still exist in this country.

Mr. Speaker, as we look to Africa in ways that were unheard of, such as the Africa trade bill, we should also look at the forgotten submerged people of Africa who cannot think of trade today, but can only think of being traded person to person. We are, after all, more than 130 years after the 13th amendment to the Constitution was passed,

and many of us in this country thought that that was the end of slavery and the last we would hear of it. The fact is that in our own homeland in Africa, there still exists slavery.

I would say to the gentleman from New Jersey, what heartens me is the joint resolution that has been passed by the House and the Senate deploring government-sponsored slave raids in southern Sudan. This resolution was passed by this House, I believe it was in June, calling upon the Sudan government to cease the practice of slavery. It passed in this House by a vote of 416 to 1, and the Senate has passed a similar bill, or a similar resolution, 97 to 2. So we have the administration, we have both houses, and we have both parties raising their voices this evening. The gentleman from New Jersey and I speak for the Members of this House and the Senate, we feel confident to say, when we say that slavery exists in Sudan and slavery will not be condoned in Sudan by public officials in this country or by the American people.

I recognize, Mr. Speaker, that the slavery is a by-product of the civil war there that has gone on for 32 of the 42 years that the Sudan has been independent, and that if we talk to people there of the government in northern Sudan, they will say that they do not have slavery; there may have been some hostage-taking. Well, Mr. Speaker, when they, in fact, take women, children, young boys, work them, engage in rape, people who were not involved in combat, you are not taking hostages, you are taking slaves.

Before I turn back to the gentleman from New Jersey, I would just like to indicate one or two features of the resolution that we passed. In our resolution, virtually unanimously in this House, we indicated that there was a genocidal war in southern Sudan, a war, in other words, to wipe out the people or, in a real sense, to convert them culturally and religiously away from their own religion. There are Christians and animists.

In our resolution, we indicate that the declaration of principles of the intergovernmental authority for development mediators is the most viable negotiating framework to resolve the problems of Sudan. We talk about the prolonged campaign and human rights abuses of the National Islamic Front government. We indicate what is surely the case and must be acknowledged, and that is that the gentleman from New Jersey and I, and the House and the Senate, and the Republicans and the Democrats, do not stand alone, that the National Islamic Front government is considered by much of the world community to be a rogue state because of its support for international terrorism and its campaign of terrorism and slavery against its own people. Those words need to be said. We do not need to soft pedal what is happening in Sudan. We need to wake up people here and around the world to

what is happening so that we can all engage in whatever is necessary to bring it to an end.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia for her many years of work. As she has indicated, she has been involved for many, many years, and of course her outstanding record as she lead the civil rights movement in this country, and the tremendous amount that she has contributed, not only to civil rights but to the rights of women. It is certainly indeed an honor for me to be joined by her this evening.

As I have indicated, the Congressional Black Caucus has been looking at this problem for some time. After my 1992, 1993 visit to southern Sudan, we had at my international affairs brain trust, which I conduct every year with a number of members of the Congressional Black Caucus at our annual legislative conference, we had the question of slavery in the Sudan as a major issue. We had people who are slaves who showed their backs where they had been whipped. We had the outstanding well-renowned model from southern Sudan Alex Wek, who last year came and talked about visiting her village, seeing her grandmother for the first time in many years and talked about the abuse of the government. As we indicated, the colonial administration did very little investment in trying to bring this country together and when the colonial powers left, there was this split between the north and the south. The al-Bashir government today continues its war policy in southern Sudan, unmercifully condones slavery, and it is the number one supporter of State-supported terrorism.

As we know, Dr. Martin Luther King said that injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere, and I think history will judge what we do or do not do here in order to free the slaves and in order to bring this question to the attention of the American people. A decade ago, a radical faction took power in Khartoum and forced and turned Africa's largest nation into a killing field.

□ 2015

It conducted a self-declared holy war by preventing food deliveries to starving people, bombing villages, and taking slaves.

Slave-raiding is the terror weapon of choice. Arab militias storm African villages, killing the men, taking the women and children. Escaped and redeemed slaves tell of being ripped from their homes, roped by the neck, and forced to march in columns north where they are raped, branded, and forcibly converted.

The Sudan government, like Stalin and Pol Pot's use of famine to kill its enemy, has been one of the real tragedies. The government of Khartoum uses food as a weapon. It has been estimated that close to 2 million people have died in Sudan, catastrophes that

make Kosovo and Chechnya look like just small incidents. Two million people died of starvation, malnutrition, because of this government in Khartoum.

Actually, in 1998, tens of thousands of Africans died a slow death when Operation Lifeline failed to break the food blockade and allow food to go into the south of Sudan. There is a U.N.-operated Operation Lifeline Sudan, OLS. But in order for food to pass through, the government of Khartoum must give permission for the food to be delivered. When they want to wreak more havoc on the people of the south, where the civil war is raging, they simply will not allow the U.N. and humanitarian organizations to bring the food to the south.

Dr. John Garang, who has been fighting with the south Sudanese liberation movement, SPLA, has asked that food be allowed to come in without the approval of the government. But that is still, working through UNICEF and the Coalition of Food Agencies, Operation Lifeline, Sudan, that is the only way that food can get into the south of Sudan. A hostile government that is hostile against its own people makes the determination.

Then we have heard about the bombings, where these old Russian planes, Antonovs, fly over the villages. Only 2 months ago, while our envoy was in Khartoum, Special Envoy Harry Johnston was meeting with the al-Bashir government, bombs were dropped on a hospital killing 16 people, mainly women and children.

When I visited at my last trip, we had to look and listen to hear whether the Antonovs were coming. We came in from the south, and they say if they come, there is a little place you can dive into a hole. The people in the villages, they look at the chickens, because the chickens actually are the first to be able to detect that the planes are coming. When the chickens start to react, then the children begin to run and move around in a kind of frenzied way.

That is when the adults, the elderly, the other people, know that the bombs are coming. Is that not a horrible way to spend day after day; peaceful villages trying to scrape out an existence, a life, have to keep their eyes on the chickens because the children watch the chickens, and then you watch the children because then you know that they may be raining bombs on you. It is, as I indicated before, it is even premedieval behavior from the government that sits in Khartoum.

What we have done, we have started an educational system there. There are youngsters all over the country who are starting to learn things. As a former teacher, I know that one of the strongest elements is to get this information in the hands of children.

There is a class out in Denver that has raised \$100,000. The class, and I have spoken to them on the phone and her name will come to me soon, but

they know who I am talking about. They call themselves the Little Abolitionists, and that is how they got involved. That is one of the reasons the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDO), who is their member, who heard about this at a church and then knew about Mrs. Fogel's class, he heard about what they were doing and got involved in this issue.

There are students from over 100 schools around the country. As a matter of fact, this little school from Denver got letters from Japan, people writing them asking them about how to get involved. Then in Newark, we started to introduce this throughout the country. Black churches in Los Angeles and Newark have started to raise their voices in a chorus of outrage, and are talking about this question of Africans being enslaved today.

There is a national divestment campaign, and we were very pleased that at Paradise Baptist Church, actually as we talk about Dr. King, and this was the infamous day, the day he was struck down in 1968, and as a matter of fact, Dr. King had just visited Newark, New Jersey. This was the last visit he made on his way back to Atlanta and on to Memphis.

I was with him that morning at a school that I had taught at, then the South Side High School, where he came and spoke to the students in 1968. Then that evening at Abyssinia Baptist Church, when Dr. King left and went back home and then to Memphis, we know what happened then.

But on January 16, celebrating Dr. Martin Luther King's life, I was invited by Reverend Jethro James at the Paradise Baptist Church in Newark to come to his church. Rather than talk about domestic issues and civil rights in this country, and the question of affirmative action and the talk about police misconduct, the issue was about slavery. I was very pleased to be asked to deliver the sermon at that Sunday morning.

From that morning, we have had a move on this national divestment campaign. See, there is a company called Talisman Energy, a Canadian company. They are drilling oil in Sudan. They are in partnership with the Malaysians and the Chinese.

What this oil is doing, now that they have completed the oil lines, is to bring more money to the government. Black gold is like blood oil.

This company, the Talisman Energy, a Canadian company, has investments all over the country. We have started a divestment program in this country. I was proud, as we pressured the State of New Jersey, that they sold 850,000 shares several weeks after the attention and the news media and the newspaper accounts of that Dr. King program, where various persons came and spoke and talked about this terrible travesty that is going on in the world today.

We are saying that we should target companies. Just as we have had this di-

vestment program in South Africa with apartheid, the Dellums bill, and the gentleman from New York (Mr. RANGEL) and Bill Ray had the divestment, we are saying this Talisman Energy Company should be targeted and they should be penalized for cooperating with a pariah government that wreaks havoc on its own people.

We can go on about that, but I will ask the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia (Ms. NORTON) if she has any other comments she would like to make at this time. I yield to the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia (Ms. NORTON).

Ms. NORTON. I thank the gentleman for yielding, Mr. Speaker.

The gentleman has indicated that he has seen with his own eyes and felt the terror himself. That is an amazing experience, especially since there have been denials by the government, even some in this country, that there is slavery in the Sudan. This gentleman has seen it with his own eyes.

Later on, I would like to indicate some of the testimony from ex-slaves, former slaves, in the Sudan so as to make more vivid why this is such a pressing issue for decent people around the world.

The gentleman has indicated that there are schoolchildren in this country so moved that they have started their own abolitionist movement. We have churches and other Americans who just feel they cannot stay still. Actually, we do not know how many slaves there are. They are African slaves, we know that. The estimates go from 20,000 to 100,000. With all the chaos and civil war in Sudan, no one has kept a record, although, amazingly, there are villages where they literally keep close records of people who have been stolen.

We know they are Christians and they are animists. Animism simply is a kind of native African religion. These are the two groups that are targeted here. The Sudan is 70 percent Muslim. Only about 5 percent are Christian. Apparently they are seen as some kind of threat.

What we have in the Sudan is a kind of cultural war, a desire to wipe out the culture of these people, the religion of these people. Nobody should feel as strongly as Americans, where people fled precisely because people were trying to convert them to a religion that was not their own. If they have a religion, they have to remain with that religion, so a civil war breaks out.

When we say to people, you cannot have your religion or you cannot have your culture, you have to have some other culture, as the gentleman has said, this has been going on for a very long time, here. In a real sense, the animus between these two groups precedes their independence, and is ancient. Nevertheless, it has become absolutely intolerable in our world today.

The antislavery movement, as it were, involves everything from classrooms and schoolchildren to a Swiss

group that makes it its business to go around essentially buying back slaves. They have freed, that is to say, bought back, upward of 20,000 slaves.

At the same time, I have to report that the antislavery movement that buys back slaves has become controversial, at least in some official circles. When we hear that people are buying back slaves, the first instinct is to say, thank goodness. UNICEF and some others have indicated some compunctions, however, about buying back slaves, because they think that it motivates the slave raiders to capture more African slaves and drives up the prices.

We can imagine, though, how the schoolchildren and groups who are buying back slaves respond to that. Nobody else is doing anything about it. If you were a slave, I guess you would figure if anybody comes along that can get me out of this and free me, then please let them do so.

Until we find a governmental solution, we are leaving these slaves either to rot in slavery or to some self-help escape, or, of course, to whatever help private individuals can bring to them.

The argument on the other side, from those who have been buying slaves, is that there has been no increase in the slave trade as a result of buying back slaves. In fact, they say that during period of intense liberation, when slaves had been brought back in large numbers, the raids have decreased.

I am not certain, and there are no official objective observers that can tell us one way or the other. I do know that the slaves are between a rock and a hard place. Nobody has come up with a solution. We can understand why people would step forward and say, we have to do whatever we can do.

Please remember slavery in this country. Please remember John Brown. Please remember the abolitionists, who were considered extremists because when slavery was the official policy of the United States and nobody would do anything about it, people were driven to do whatever they could.

At least what is happening with churches here, with the schoolchildren, with the Swiss movement that is buying back slaves, is peaceful and is liberating people. It puts a price on people's heads, but they, of course, are free.

The gentleman has also spoken about another movement. There is the liberation movement and there is the divestment movement. I agree with him, that at the very least the divestment movement is called for. I do believe that with what has happened in New Jersey to divest in Talisman Energy, which is Canada's oldest independent oil company, what has happened there is likely to catch fire everywhere else.

In neighboring New York, the first elected black official State-wide, the Comptroller, Carl McCall, is leading his State towards the same kind of divestment that New Jersey has begun. I must say to the gentleman from New Jersey, I cannot help but believe that

it is the gentleman's work that has led his State to be the first to come forward and say to Talisman, not in this country. I think the gentleman deserves much of the credit for what has happened in New Jersey.

I want to tell the gentleman that he has inspired me to look into the pension funds of the District of Columbia, and to ask my counsel and my mayor to look to see if we are invested in Talisman Energy. I hope that, at least out of what we are doing this evening, and out of what the gentleman has encouraged to happen already in New Jersey, we can encourage Americans and others around the world to engage in a divestment movement.

I do not know if there are other companies. Talisman Energy has, of course, caught the attention of the country, and they deserve the disinvestment they are receiving.

I would say to the gentleman, I do have more to say, but in the spirit of going back and forth in the colloquy in which we are engaged, I yield back to the gentleman at this time.

Mr. PAYNE. I thank the gentleman very much.

The points that the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia brings out are very, very cogent points. We are encouraging Comptroller Carl McCall to take a look at the State of New York and the expanse of investments that that State has, and also the teachers' annuity funds nationwide.

Teachers have probably the largest annuity and pension funds, and we want those representatives to take a look at their portfolios, because we need to let people know that there is no profit in dealing in human misery. You cannot have a bonus by virtue of your behavior in dealing with an unjust system.

So as we target the Talisman Company, we will continue to, one, generate more involvement from the church movement throughout the country. We will continue with Mr. Jacobs and his antislavery movement, which has printed material, has become involved in getting material to children, to schools, to churches, and has done a very good job.

The gentlewoman does bring up an issue that UNICEF and the antislavery movement have had a debate about, whether to purchase the slaves is the right policy. We who want to see the policy ended do not want to get good groups battling each other about what is the right way to go. We should focus on the pariah government and determine ways that government should be brought down UNICEF wants to do it, the antislavery group wants to. I support all of the efforts that are going on.

I do believe, though, that in the legislation recently passed, in the Sudan Peace Act, there was a provision that we put in that would enable the President to block American investment in Sudan and also to break the food blockade to feed starving southern Sudanese.

There has been some controversy about having food go into Sudan in ways other than the Operation Lifeline Sudan, but we think that that is an imperfect way. We think that food should be made available from whatever means necessary, and that food should get to the people in the South who are starving. There has been some opposition to having food go into the country in ways other than the established OLS, but we think that that is really not working and, therefore, something else should happen.

As we have seen in Bosnia recently and in Serbia with the arrest of people for war crimes, people being brought before the International Court of Justice, we have seen in Arusha, the Rwandan genocide trials going on by the United Nations, we think that the Khartoum government must cease in its criminal acts or it needs to be held accountable for its actions.

We are holding Milosevic accountable in the Balkans for his war crimes, and the al-Turabi and al-Bashir governments must also be judged accordingly as crimes against humanity. We need to take a look at an indictment of these people who have continued the plight, as I mentioned, of 4 million people. As I mentioned, 4 million people have been displaced, and 2 million people have died over the course of 40 years.

Although these gentlemen have only been involved in the last decade or so, we need to start holding heads of state accountable. We saw what happened in Europe as related to Argentina's former dictator, where until his health became an issue there was an indictment being charged against him.

I think that the time has come that we need to tell criminal heads of state that they are going to be held accountable, that they are going to be indicted, and they need to be brought to trial.

□ 2030

It makes no sense that we tolerate this. Up to now, we just had Band-Aid approaches to fix some of these problems and so if we are going to be effective we must go to the root causes and the root cause is the government of the north.

Now, I do have to applaud the administration for applying sanctions almost two years ago on the government in the north, and they have held to most of the sanctions. Of course, many corporations are opposed to sanctions but I think that in this extreme situation that that is the least that these corporations can do. Invest somewhere else until we change that government. We cannot reward this government for its continued use of these terrible practices. In addition to what they have reeked on their own people, Sudan has also destabilized her neighbors. In Uganda, the Sudanese government gives direct support to the Lord's Resistance Army, a rebel base group that kills and tortures its own people. The

Lord's Resistance Army abducts children also, sort of the same practice of what is allowed by the Khartoum government. They will go in and they will kidnap children and then make these children in the front line of any attack that is coming. So the Army of Uganda that is trying to stamp out this group is confronted with the fact that there are children sort of shielding the soldiers of the Lord's Resistance Army. This is condoned by the government of Sudan.

We have had allegations of terrorism, and terrorists are harbored there in Sudan.

Back, as I indicated, to my visit to Sudan in 1992, 1993, when I returned I introduced the first piece of legislation that I did on slavery in the Sudan. I cannot even believe that it has been almost 7, 8 years ago but I introduced legislation on slavery in Sudan and that legislation called for the State Department to list all covert and overt forms of slavery in the region. It also called for the U.S. to cut off aid to countries that aid in selling or buying any Dinka men, women or children. The Dinka tribe is the tribe in the south, basically Christian.

Many of them are animists, as has already been indicated by the representative of the District, that there is just a small number of people who are in other religions, and this has been where we have seen the north reap its vengeance on these people in the south. That legislation also called for the administration to report to Congress within 3 months about the U.S.'s efforts to end slavery and it called on the United Nations Security Council to impose an arms embargo on the government until they condemn the enslavement of innocent civilians and take appropriate measures against the perpetrators of the crime.

Let me just say that removing it to a new millennium, as I said, we have human beings still being enslaved, branded like cattle, used as chattel and property. Sometimes children are sold for as little as \$15 apiece. The government tolerates, if not condones, the kidnapping and enslavement of these women and children. They have ways of brutalizing where a child is afraid to try to escape because if they catch one they will cut his foot or sever his Achilles tendon, or brutal things that will just prevent the next one from trying to leave. Even in some countries, some of the oil rich countries, young boys are brought to their countries as slaves for camel racing, because they need light-weight persons to be the jockeys on the camels.

This is another inhumane situation that goes on today and is tolerated by heads of state. So we have a very serious situation. We have been trying to work at peace in Sudan. We have had President Moi who heads a group called the IGAD group which are made up of states in the Horn, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Egypt, countries in that region to try to work out some solution with the

government in Khartoum in ending the bombings and stopping the safe raids but to date they have been unsuccessful.

I have to commend President Moi who comes under criticism in his country for things that are happening there, but I have to commend him for his attempt. I spoke to him face-to-face just a month and a half ago about the problem in Sudan and he is very troubled by it and he is also troubled by the lack of progress that has been made as he has been attempting to have a change of heart with the government.

So we certainly will continue to fight. We will continue to raise this issue. We will continue to bring this issue before the persons of this Nation, before the children of our schools, before the churches in our communities. We have seen people become interested. We get phone calls from people who want more information and we send them or we refer them to an organization like the Anti-Slavery Movement or other groups that are working with this issue, but I must say that we are growing in numbers.

I used to say before the gender question, start me with ten who are stout-hearted men and I will soon give you 10,000 more. Of course, today I will say 10 who are stout-hearted men or women, and we will see this grow until we have an army of people of goodwill that will say we will no longer tolerate these injustices. Start me with 10 and I will soon give you 10,000 more, and that is what is going and they said shoulder to shoulder we grow bolder as we meet this foe, that must be taken out.

I once again appreciate the interest of the gentlewoman from the District (Ms. NORTON). As she indicated, she saw me in the hall and said we just have to talk about it; it is on my chest. We have to get it off. Let us just discuss it, and that is what we are doing here at this time.

Since we have maybe 15 minutes left, I will yield to the gentlewoman and then I will conclude after she completes her remarks.

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE) for yielding. Once again, I thank him for his consistent leadership on this issue, for his work not only in the Congress but throughout the Nation.

This evening, what he is doing, I think, his 10,000 men to join him, his 10,000 women, I think has indeed some possibility. I certainly want to join.

The gentleman knows that the Khartoum government had long denied that there was slavery at all in the Sudan. It is interesting that just last year, when the evidence began to be overwhelming because journalists from around the world had documented endlessly the slavery because the slaves themselves were offering irrefutable testimony, then Khartoum said that, yes, there is slavery but only independent Arab tribes operating without

Khartoum's approval are engaged in slavery.

□ 2045

I mean, that is like the United States Government, I will say to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE), telling us in 1920 that these people who are going around lynching blacks are operating without their approval. All they had to do was arrest someone. I think the message would have gone throughout the south. There would have been thousands of black people who would have been saved from lynching.

The fact is that this is a militaristic government. If it wanted to stop the slavery, it knows how to do so. It does not want to do so. It condones it. It is involved up to the teeth in this cultural war. It is a civil war, and their way of dealing with it is to strip these people of their religion and of their culture. That is uncivilized. That cannot be condoned anywhere on the planet under any circumstances today.

I would say to the gentleman from New Jersey that I would like to close and give him the opportunity to close this special order by simply referring to some of the testimony so that it will be clear that we are speaking here for slaves and ex-slaves who cannot speak for themselves, who do not have access to the podium that we come before tonight.

I was particularly struck by words from the Calgary Herald in Africa, December 26, and I would like to quote because this was an article that involved an interview of a former slave Natalinia Yoll. Here the article said, "She could hear the galloping horses in the distance. She had lost her shoes in her rush to escape the Arab marauders. As she headed for the deep undergrowth, she knew she would eventually be safe and avoid being taken as a slave.

"But she was still running, and screaming, trying to find out if her mother was close by. Looking back would cost her precious seconds.

"Running, running, running. Then, as though someone had made an opening, she found solace in the deep, thick bushes. Alone, scared, tired, but safe—for now."

Running, Mr. Speaker, like an animal. This was a human being. Somehow this reporter makes me feel what it must have been like.

He goes on to say, "This is where she would remain for days, weeks, until it was safe to return to her village. This is where other members of her village would join her."

The woman is now married. She married an African in Nairobi, Kenya. These are her own words: "Will I ever be able to sleep without disruption? The memories are vivid, I can still smell the horses chasing me. How can I possibly forget?"

She indicates that the marauders take young boys. They want young boys, because they want young boys

who have no memory of their culture so they can completely convert them, get them to speak another language, Arabic, as it turns out, get them to forget that they ever had their own religion. Then they take girls and women, because girls and women are always helpless in every society, or at least more helpless than men. Then they sell them, apparently, to Arab merchants and put them to work on farms.

This woman, Natalinia Yoll, spoke of being placed in a circular compound, fenced off with thorns. She talks of vile health conditions. She spoke of working with livestock.

Now I am quoting her, "Escape is the most important issue on their minds." "Every day they plan, strategize. Getting out of this hell hole is the only thing that occupies their thoughts. But so many don't make it."

Natalinia Yoll's father and two brothers did not make it.

I am particularly moved by the Dinka youth who apparently are among the targeted prey, because these children are captured so young that their marauders turned them against their own people. They are enslaved so young, they do not have any idea where they came from, where their birth family might be, so they simply speak the oppressor's language. Did not we learn to speak the oppressor's language? We have forgotten the language of our forbearers. We know, we feel what that is about.

I do want to say something about after freedom. One would think, well, when people are free, that is it. These people, when they are free, when they are bought back apparently are terribly damaged, humiliated, broken.

They are often walked back to their villages in 110-degree heat. They are surely grateful to be freed. But they walk hundreds of miles back from the north to their home region that they have been bought for \$50 a head. They are stripped of their religion.

They go back, not at all certain that they will remain free. The marauders can come again. They can be sold back again. That is why people are buying these slaves.

Mr. Speaker, when you face this kind of desperation, at least in the United States, if you could get North, away from slavery, apparently, if you get South, back to where you came from, the marauders can come and get this again. This is intolerable. This is hell.

What to do? I do want to say something about that. Our country is trying. Obviously, we cannot go there. This is not a situation where we can simply storm the country and do something about it. This is not that kind of situation. It is not what the American people want, and that is not what we want.

I do applaud Secretary Albright for what she is trying to do. There is some notion that one way to, perhaps, bring Sudan to its senses, make it into a civilized nation, would be to reward the country for progress towards any peace

that it moves toward. If you see them ending human rights abuses by easing off the economic sanctions imposed in 1997, I have to say one would have to see very strong evidence in order for any of us to believe that that is what should happen, but you have to begin to find a way.

Ms. Albright has suggested that this country would pick up the costs of the next round of regional peace talks in Sudan, and the administration did appoint a peace envoy to Sudan, but, of course, that did not get very far, because the adamant against moving towards peace could not be stronger.

I do want to end, finally, with what I have to say with some evidence of what it is like to be a slave in Sudan. Here I am quoting from a slave, we were roped together, 16 people to a rope, and marched to the land of the Arabs. There some of us were sold to a farmer, Ali Mohammed, who made us servants to his wives, Fatima and Zenib. I worked dawn to night but was never given even a coin. My food was table scraps. Zenib beat me with a stick if I moved too slowly or broke a jug. But Fatima was kind and took pity. Once she gave me a sugar piece.

Another detail that particularly strikes home, as far as I am concerned, they said I must be a Muslim, that I must pray on Fridays, and that also I must be cut like an Arab lady. This ex-slave is talking about female circumcision.

Reverend William Chan, a Dinka Roman Catholic priest, remains there and somehow has survived in Southern Sudan. Mr. Speaker, I would say with gratitude to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE) that I would like to end with words from this priest. Reverend William Chan, we pray for our brothers and sisters who are slaves. We pray that the ears of the world will one day open to the cries from Sudan. We rejoice in the knowledge that God, our father, hears us.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE).

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, let me thank the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia (Ms. NORTON) for that very moving and personal report of people who have simply told it like it is. I think that we have to remember that no one is free until everyone is free, and that the government has lied that truth.

Of course, the earth will rise again, because no lie can live forever, and, finally, that the arch of the moral universe is long, but it bends towards justice.

As we look at the situation there, as we look at the continent and we see this year 2000, hopefully a settlement to the tragic conflict. For example, in Ethiopia and Eritrea with two good leaders, like Prime Minister Meles and President Isaias who are intelligent, bright men, will hopefully continue to cease-fire and come up with a peace plan.

We are hoping that the Kabila government would move towards elections

in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and that those folks who are on other sides, Uganda with Museveni and Rwanda with Kagame and Burundi with Buyoya, on one side, fighting against Zimbabwe, Mugabe's group and Namibia with Sam Nujoma and Angola with President dos Santos, that that cease-fire will hold.

We are seeing Sierra Leone, the brutal mutilation by the RUF, but that government hopefully having a government of reconciliation, and that brutality will end there. We hope that Cote D'Ivoire will have an election this spring after the cue that recently took place.

We have some bright spots. We see the government of Senegal who just had an election and had a positive transference of government. We have seen South Africa move from Mr. Mandela to Mr. Thabo Mbeka.

We have seen Botswana that has been very stable for decades with the new President there, Festus Mogae. We see positive movement on the continent, still very difficult, still a long way to go, but we are seeing, at least, an attempt and some positive steps.

As we conclude, we must also expect to see some positive results in Sudan. We must not continue to allow children to be sold and to be raped and to be beaten and to be tortured. We can no longer let governments sit in high places without having to pay the consequences.

We can no longer allow leaders to feel they can do what they want any time they want to and go above the law. We have to have the prosecutions by the International Court of Justice. We can no longer allow medieval times in our supersonic era. These things must stop. We will continue to fight.

We are on the right side. We know that we are going to win, but it is going to be the work of all of us, the children, the church people, the politicians, the investors, the housewives, just everyone saying that enough is enough.

I cannot thank the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia (Ms. NORTON) enough for her joining me in this colloquy-type special order. The fact that we are now moving forward to see victory, I think, is the right way to go, the right direction.

Once again, I thank the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia (Ms. NORTON) and the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF), the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. HALL), Senator BROWNBACK, the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDO), the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. COOKSEY), who has a very strong interest, the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE), chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa, who has done tremendous work, the gentleman from California (Mr. CAMPBELL), who I have traveled with in the South of Sudan, these are people who are saying enough is enough, and the gentleman from New York (Mr. MEEKS) and the gentlewoman from California (Ms. LEE), those who are on our committee.

□ 2100

THE NATION'S FIRST RESPONDERS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. KUYKENDALL). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 1999, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I rise this evening to thank our colleagues for action taken in this body last Thursday when we made an historic vote and, for the first time in the history of this Congress, voted money in the emergency supplemental legislation for our Nation's first responders, our Nation's fire and emergency management personnel.

I rise tonight to pay tribute to and to discuss that legislation, but also to clarify one part of that legislation which I had to remove because of confusion and misrepresentation stated on the House floor in what was a very limited debate.

First of all, Mr. Speaker, the legislation itself is appropriate for an emergency supplemental bill because it, in fact, is aimed at our domestic emergency responders. Also in that legislation was \$4 billion for our military, which was desperately needed and which I heartily supported, to help them overcome the shortfall in funding because of the level of deployments that the President has gotten our military involved in. But for the first time in this legislation the Congress voted by a margin of 386 to 28, a very lopsided margin, to support my amendment which would provide \$100 million to the Nation's fire and emergency services.

Now, let me discuss why this is so important, Mr. Speaker. Over the last 10 years, we have seen unprecedented increases in the number of disasters in this country. Hurricanes, floods, tornadoes, earthquakes, wild lands fires, the World Trade Center bombing, the Oklahoma City bombing, the Atlanta Olympic bombing, numerous HAZMAT incidents, high-rise buildings, and other incidents involving potential and real situations where lives have been lost and people have been injured.

Now, admittedly, Mr. Speaker, responding to local disasters is a local responsibility, and as a conservative Republican on fiscal issues, I do not want to change that. As a former mayor, having been before that a local volunteer fire chief, and a director of fire training for some 80 fire companies as a volunteer, and then going back and working in my own community and then going on to serve on my county council, county commission, I understand that life safety is a local responsibility, and my amendment did not intend to change that. This was not an attempt, as some would say, to federalize the fire service. It was not an attempt to have the Federal Government move in to take over jurisdiction or responsibility for what should be a State and local issue. But, Mr. Speaker, we have to understand some hard facts.

First of all, the fire service of this country, which consists of 32,000 fire departments, 85 percent of whom are volunteer in every State in the union, and including 1.2 million men and women, have responded to disasters in America longer than the country has been a country. Two hundred fifty years ago this organization of dedicated men and women sprang up to basically protect our towns and cities. And all across America, for the past 250 years, these men and women have protected us from every type of disaster known to mankind, from those that are natural to those that are man-made. And they have done it very well.

In fact, it is the only profession that I can think of where the bulk of those involved are volunteers and that loses, on average, 100 of its members every year; that are killed in the line of duty. Now, we have police officers that are killed, we have military personnel that are killed, but they are paid. That does not make any difference. It is still a tragic loss when that occurs. But with the fire service, each year, on average, 100 of them are killed, and the bulk of those who are killed are volunteers. They are doing what they do because they want to protect their communities. Yet, Mr. Speaker, at the Federal level, we have done little to assist these people because it has been thought of in America as a local jurisdictional responsibility.

But, Mr. Speaker, some things have been changing. First of all, the size of the disasters in recent times have been unprecedented. The floods of the Mississippi River in the Midwest, the Loma Prieta and Northridge earthquake, Hurricanes Floyd and Andrew and Hugo. All of these incidents involved a massive impact on ordinary people. The first responders to every one of these incidents was not the military, it was not the FEMA bureaucrat, it was not the civil defense person in the county courthouse. The first responder in every incident that we have faced as a Nation has been the local fire and EMS person, be he or she paid or volunteer.

And, Mr. Speaker, these disasters have had a terrible impact on the ability of these first responders to replace equipment that was ruined, to buy new equipment that is needed, or to deal with the kinds of tragedies that these natural and man-made disasters have caused.

But there is something else that is happening, Mr. Speaker. In the 1990s, we began to see a new threat emerging, a threat involving weapons of mass destruction: Chemical, biological or perhaps even small nuclear devices. And all of a sudden the buzzword around the beltway is that we should provide more support for our military, for our civil defense community to respond to terrorism that would include a weapon of mass destruction. But, Mr. Speaker, again, the first responder to a terrorist act will not be a military unit, it will not be a National Guard unit, it will

not be a FEMA bureaucrat. The first responder in any city, in any town, in any county across America to a terrorist incident will be a locally-based fire and/or emergency responder.

So now we at the Federal level are asking our country to prepare, and yet we have not given any supportive substance to these men and women who we are asking to respond to a different type of threat to our stability, and that is the threat from the use of a weapon of mass destruction. For these reasons, Mr. Speaker, it is totally appropriate that we at the Federal level provide some help to our emergency response community.

Now, those who would say that the Federal Government's support of \$100 million for the fire service is simply an attempt to federalize them could not be further from the truth. First of all, the volunteer fire service in this country, which makes up 85 percent of those 32,000 departments and 85 percent of those 1.2 million men and women, has no interest in being federalized. They have no interest in being taken over by the State or their county. It is a proud tradition.

Having been born and raised in a fire service family, and having risen to the position of president of my fire company and then chief of a volunteer fire department, and training director of an academy for 80 of those companies, I understand the fire service mentality. These are proud Americans. They want to protect their communities, and they do not want government to become involved. However, Mr. Speaker, they are facing some very unique challenges that require us to provide some assistance.

First of all, the volunteers are having an extremely difficult time recruiting new volunteers. They are spending so much of their time raising money, through tag days and chicken dinners and bingos in the fire hall, that they are taking away from their ability to train and to take care of the apparatus and prepare for the kinds of situations they have to respond to. So fund-raising is becoming a larger and larger part of the requirement of the volunteer firefighter to meet the needs of the fire department. We need to provide some assistance in that effort.

Recruitment is a big problem all over America. I have traveled to all 50 States, I have spoken to every State fire and EMS group in the country. And in every State I have heard the same message: We are having a tough time recruiting young people. Money from the Federal Government can provide the assistance necessary to recruit young volunteers.

Let me just give my colleagues a piece of frustration that I have heard around the country. This President and this administration, largely supported by the liberal wing of this body and the other body, a few years ago created a well-intentioned program called AmeriCorps. We were told by President Clinton that AmeriCorps was going to