

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, in closing, I want to thank the participants of this debate. I have enjoyed working with Mr. Payne and the other members of the Subcommittee on Africa on this resolution, and I urge its adoption.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution.

Mr. ROYCE, Mr. PAYNE, and the Members of the Subcommittee on African Affairs are to be congratulated for their attention to the difficult political and humanitarian crisis in Sierra Leone.

When Sierra Leone received independence from Britain in 1961, it had everything going for it. The fierce tribalism that plagues some African nations never developed there, and although there are 14 ethnic groups, urban life has led to a blending of cultures. Sierra Leone benefited from strong educational institutions at the time of independence and boasts many highly educated citizens. But after independence, corrupt politicians found it relatively easy to consolidate power and accumulate great wealth.

Neighboring Liberia's civil war spilled over into Sierra Leone ten years ago, and faction leader Charles Taylor, now Liberia's president, armed and supported a Sierra Leone rebel group, the Revolutionary United Front. Led by Foday Sankoh, a cashiered army corporal, the RUF has demonstrated no discernible political agenda. Its followers have murdered and maimed thousands of the poorest people. Like the Shining Path in Peru, the RUF terrorizes the population to ensure compliance. RUF leaders recruit teenage and pre-teen boys and girls, sometimes forcing them to kill their own families before taking them from their rural villages at gunpoint. The practice of amputation and carving RUF initials into the skin of children became commonplace.

Sierra Leoneans finally rose up and demanded elections. In 1996 they poured into the streets, even battling soldiers to protect ballot boxes. In the first democratic elections in many years, they chose Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, a retired U.N. diplomat, as President.

Kabbah never came to grips with the country's many problems. In May 1997, the army seized the capital again and invited the RUF to join them in looting the city. Nine months later, Nigerian troops operating under the Economic Community of West Africa Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) ousted the vandals and restored Kabbah to power.

On January 6 of this year, the RUF launched another offensive on the capital and destroyed the country's largest hospital, its 170-year-old university, and its new telecommunications center before the ECOMOG troops drove them out again.

For the moment, there is a sign of hope. On May 18, 1999, President Kabbah and rebel leader Sankoh signed a cease-fire agreement. This tenuous peace must be guarded and nurtured. This resolution is an important step in sustaining continued U.S. engagement and support.

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SHIMKUS). The question is on the mo-

tion offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, House Resolution 62, as amended.

The question was taken.

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX and the Chair's prior announcement, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed.

SUNDRY MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Sundry messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the House by Mr. Sherman Williams, one of his secretaries.

CONDEMNING THE NATIONAL ISLAMIC FRONT (NIF) GOVERNMENT

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution (H.Con.Res. 75) condemning the National Islamic Front (NIF) government for its genocidal war in southern Sudan, support for terrorism, and continued human rights violations, and for other purposes, as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. CON. RES. 75

Whereas according to the United States Committee for Refugees (USCR) an estimated 1,900,000 people have died over the past decade due to war and war-related causes and famine, while millions have been displaced from their homes and separated from their families;

Whereas the National Islamic Front (NIF) government's war policy in southern Sudan, the Nuba Mountains, and the Ingessena Hills has brought untold suffering to innocent civilians and is threatening the very survival of a whole generation of southern Sudanese;

Whereas the people of the Nuba Mountains and the Ingessena Hills are at particular risk, having been specifically targeted through a deliberate prohibition of international food aid, inducing manmade famine, and by routinely bombing civilian centers, including religious services, schools, and hospitals;

Whereas the National Islamic Front government is deliberately and systematically committing genocide in southern Sudan, the Nuba Mountains, and the Ingessena Hills;

Whereas the Convention for the Prevention and the Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948, defines "genocide" as official acts committed by a government with the intent to destroy a national, ethnic, or religious group, and this definition also includes "deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction, in whole or in part";

Whereas the National Islamic Front government systematically and repeatedly obstructed peace efforts of the Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD) over the past several years;

Whereas the Declaration of Principles (DOP) put forth by the Intergovernmental Authority for Development mediators is the most viable negotiating framework to resolve the problems in Sudan and to bring lasting peace;

Whereas humanitarian conditions in southern Sudan, especially in Bahr al-Ghazal and the Nuba Mountains, deteriorated in 1998, largely due to the National Islamic Front government's decision to ban United Nations relief flights from February through the end of April in 1998 and the government continues to deny access in certain locations;

Whereas an estimated 2,600,000 southern Sudanese were at risk of starvation late last year in southern Sudan and the World Food Program currently estimates that 4,000,000 people are in need of emergency assistance;

Whereas the United Nations-coordinated relief effort, Operation Lifeline Sudan (OLS), failed to respond in time at the height of the humanitarian crisis last year and has allowed the National Islamic Front government to manipulate and obstruct the relief efforts;

Whereas the relief work in the affected areas is further complicated by the National Islamic Front's repeated aerial attacks on feeding centers, clinics, and other civilian targets;

Whereas relief efforts are further exacerbated by looting, bombing, and killing of innocent civilians and relief workers by government-sponsored militias in the affected areas;

Whereas these government-sponsored militias have carried out violent raids in Aweil West, Twic, and Gogrial counties in Bahr el Ghazal/Lakes Region, killing hundreds of civilians and displacing thousands;

Whereas the National Islamic Front government has perpetrated a prolonged campaign of human rights abuses and discrimination throughout the country;

Whereas the National Islamic Front government-sponsored militias have been engaged in the enslavement of innocent civilians, including children, women, and the elderly;

Whereas the now common slave raids being carried out by the government's Popular Defense Force (PDF) militias are undertaken as part of the government's self-declared jihad (holy war) against the predominantly traditional and Christian south;

Whereas, according to the American Anti-Slavery Group of Boston, there are tens of thousands of women and children now living as chattel slaves in Sudan;

Whereas these women and children were captured in slave raids taking place over a decade by militia armed and controlled by the National Islamic Front regime in Khartoum—they are bought, sold, branded, and bred;

Whereas the Department of State, in its report on Human Rights Practices for 1997, affirmed that "reports and information from a variety of sources after February 1994 indicate that the number of cases of slavery, servitude, slave trade, and forced labor have increased alarmingly";

Whereas the enslavement of people is considered in international law as "crime against humanity";

Whereas observers estimate the number of people enslaved by government-sponsored militias to be in the tens of thousands;

Whereas former United Nations Special Rapporteur for Sudan, Gaspar Biro, and his successor, Leonardo Franco, reported on a number of occasions the routine practice of

slavery and the complicity of the Government of Sudan;

Whereas the National Islamic Front government abuses and tortures political opponents and innocent civilians in the North and that many northerners have been killed by this regime over the years;

Whereas the vast majority of Muslims in Sudan do not subscribe to the National Islamic Front's extremist and politicized practice of Islam and moderate Muslims have been specifically targeted by the regime;

Whereas 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 against its own people;

Whereas according to the Department of State's Patterns of Global Terrorism Report, "Sudan's support to terrorist organizations has included paramilitary training, indoctrination, money, travel documentation, safe passage, and refuge in Sudan";

Whereas the National Islamic Front government has been implicated in the assassination attempt of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in Ethiopia in 1995 and the World Trade Center bombing in 1993;

Whereas the National Islamic Front government has permitted Sudan to be used by well-known terrorist organizations as a refuge and training hub over the years;

Whereas the Saudi-born financier of extremist groups and the mastermind of the United States embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania, Osama bin-Laden, used Sudan as a base of operations for several years and continues to maintain economic interests there;

Whereas on August 20, 1998, United States Naval forces struck a suspected chemical weapons facility in Khartoum, the capital of Sudan, in retaliation for the United States embassy bombings in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam;

Whereas relations between the United States and Sudan continue to deteriorate because of human rights violations, the government's war policy in southern Sudan, and the National Islamic Front's support for international terrorism;

Whereas the United States Government placed Sudan in 1993 on the list of seven states in the world that sponsor terrorism and imposed comprehensive sanctions on the National Islamic Front government in November 1997; and

Whereas the struggle by the people of Sudan and opposition forces is a just struggle for freedom and democracy against the extremist regime in Khartoum: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the Congress—

(1) strongly condemns the National Islamic Front government for its genocidal war in southern Sudan, support for terrorism, and continued human rights violations;

(2) strongly deplores the government-sponsored and tolerated slave raids in southern Sudan and calls on the government to immediately end the practice of slavery;

(3) calls on the United Nations Security Council to condemn the slave raids and bring to justice those responsible for these crimes against humanity;

(4) calls on the President—

(A) to increase support for relief organizations that are working outside the United Nations-coordinated relief effort, Operation Lifeline Sudan (OLS), in opposition-controlled areas;

(B) to instruct the Administrator of the United States Agency for International De-

velopment (USAID) and the heads of other relevant agencies to significantly increase and better coordinate with nongovernmental organizations outside the Operation Lifeline Sudan system involved in relief work in Sudan;

(C) to instruct the Administrator of USAID and the Secretary of State to work to strengthen the independence of Operation Lifeline Sudan from the National Islamic Front government;

(D) to substantially increase development funds for capacity building, democracy promotion, civil administration, judiciary, and infrastructure support in opposition-controlled areas, and to report on a quarterly basis to the Congress on the progress made under this subparagraph;

(E) to instruct appropriate agencies to provide humanitarian assistance directly, including food, to the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), its NDA allies, and other indigenous groups in southern Sudan and the Nuba Mountains;

(F) to intensify and expand United States diplomatic and economic pressures on the National Islamic Front government by maintaining the current unilateral sanctions regime and by increasing efforts for multilateral sanctions;

(G) to provide the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) and its National Democratic Alliance (NDA) allies with political and material support;

(H) to take the lead to strengthen the Intergovernmental Authority for Development's (IGAD) peace process; and

(I) not later than 3 months after the adoption of this resolution, to report to the Congress about the administration's efforts or plans to end slavery in Sudan;

(5) calls on the United Nations Security Council—

(A) to impose an arms embargo on the Government of Sudan;

(B) to condemn the enslavement of innocent civilians and take appropriate measures against the perpetrators of this crime;

(C) to swiftly implement reforms within the Operation Lifeline Sudan to enhance independence from the National Islamic Front regime;

(D) to implement United Nations Security Council Resolution 1070 relating to an air embargo;

(E) to make a determination that the National Islamic Front's war policy in southern Sudan and the Nuba Mountains constitutes genocide or ethnic cleansing; and

(F) to protect innocent civilians from aerial bombardment by the National Islamic Front's air force;

(6) urges the Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD) partners under the leadership of President Daniel Arap Moi to call on the Government of Sudan to immediately stop the indiscriminate bombings in southern Sudan;

(7) strongly condemns any government that financially supports the Government of Sudan;

(8) calls on the President to transmit to the Congress not later than 90 days after the date of the adoption of this concurrent resolution, and not later than every 90 days thereafter, a report regarding flight suspensions for humanitarian purposes concerning Operation Lifeline Sudan; and

(9) urges the President to increase by 100 percent the allocation of funds that are made available through the Sudanese Transition Assistance for Rehabilitation Program (commonly referred to as the "STAR Program") for the promotion of the rule of law to ad-

vance democracy, civil administration and judiciary, and the enhancement of infrastructure, in the areas in Sudan that are controlled by the opposition to the National Islamic Front government.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE) and the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE).

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks on H. Con. Res. 75.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Speaker, this resolution brings much needed attention to the terrible situation in Sudan where war incredibly has led to the death of 1.9 million Sudanese over the past decade. The vast majority of these Sudanese have not been combatants. They have been innocent women and children in the south who have been cruelly subjected to starvation and disease as food has been used as a weapon against them.

□ 1115

As the Subcommittee on Africa and the Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights of the Committee on International Relations heard 3 weeks ago, the humanitarian crisis in Sudan remains severe and a process of slavery still exists. We heard the personal experiences of southern Sudanese who have lost family members to the horrific process of slavery.

This resolution pulls no punch. The Sudanese government, it states, is committing genocide. The Sudanese government has also engaged in slavery. This is consistent with its international behavior. Sudan is classified as a terrorist state by the State Department.

This resolution condemns the Sudanese government for its genocidal war in southern Sudan and its support for terrorism. It deplores the government-supported slave trade in Sudan, and it calls for increased and more effective aid efforts in southern Sudan. The United States, this resolution suggests, must play a key role in attempting to bring peace to southern Sudan.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE), the author of this resolution, and I urge its passage.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume, and I rise in strong support of this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, once again let me commend the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE), the chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa, for bringing this very important resolution to the floor; and also to the ranking member of the full committee, the gentleman from New York (Mr. GEJDENSON); and the chairman of the full committee, the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN), for the work that they have done on this very important issue.

The issue has been an issue that has been very important to me for many, many years: The question of Sudan and the horrendous quality of life that people, in particular in the south of Sudan, must go through in their daily lives simply to exist.

My first visit to Sudan was in 1993, and since then I have traveled several times to the region. Just last week I was joined by my colleagues, Senator BROWNBACK from Kansas and the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDO), and it was great to have those Congress persons, as a matter of fact, the largest congressional delegation to go to the south of Sudan perhaps in decades.

Our trip took us to Loki in Kenya, to southern Sudan, to Yei and Labone, and at each of these places we saw thousands and thousands of refugees who are living in substandard conditions. Let me say that the war in Sudan is currently Africa's longest running Civil War. It is estimated that two million people have died, and as a direct result of this war many others have been misplaced, close to four million. The Sudanese conflict is often one of the major causes of famine and misery in southern Sudan.

The National Islamic Front government in Khartoum has systematically and militarily tried to wipe out the people in the south by genocidal means. The NIF government of the north has supported international terrorist activities and has even attempted to destabilize neighbors in East Africa. They have supported the Lord's Resistance Army in northern Kenya, an army of people who brutalize, kidnap children and maim and kill innocent people.

H.Con.Res. 75 condemns the NIF government for its genocidal war in southern Sudan, its support of terrorism and continued human rights violations.

H.Con.Res. 75 deplors the slave raids into southern Sudan where women and children are captured and sold as chattel slaves by a military controlled by the Khartoum government.

The resolution calls upon the United States Government to increase aid to relief organizations working outside of Operation Lifeline Sudan, the OLS, and it instructs USAID to better coordinate the delivery of aid and relief materials.

The State Department is called upon to increase the diplomatic pressure on the NIF government and to provide

greater leadership by strengthening the Intergovernmental Authority for Development, the IGAD process, and we urge President Moi from Kenya, who chairs IGAD, to even work more diligently at coming up with a solution.

Finally, H. Con. Res. 75 calls upon the U.N. Security Council to impose an arms embargo against the Sudanese Government, condemn slavery and reform OLS to strengthen its independence from the NIF government.

All Members of the House are encouraged to vote for this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDO), who along with the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE) recently toured Sudan and had an opportunity to visit sites recently bombed, such as the hospital in Yei.

Mr. TANCREDO. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time. It is accurate that my colleagues, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE), and Senator BROWNBACK, and I just returned from the Sudan where we witnessed the events described in this resolution, as described on the floor. We witnessed them firsthand, and witness them we did. Not only did we witness the effects, the physical effects of the bombing, the physical effects of the terror being imposed on the people of south Sudan by the government in the north, or the government in Khartoum, but we also witnessed the terror in the eyes of the people in south Sudan who came to us time after time after time, village after village, and asked us to do something, to do anything, as representatives of the greatest Nation on earth, as representatives of the most powerful Nation on the planet. They asked us to do something about the horror that they face day in and day out and that they have faced now for 10 these many years.

As my colleague, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE) has indicated, it is the longest running battle, war, conflict, whatever we wish to call it, on the continent. It has now killed more people than any conflict since the Second World War. Two million dead, 4 million displaced. All of this has happened and the world has been silent.

My colleague, and the chairman the distinguished chairman of our committee, the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN), has offered and will offer a statement for the RECORD in its entirety, but I would like to just excerpt one part of it because I think it is extremely poignant and needs to be stressed. It says: "Sudan has had a long history of suffering. For many years, it has gone largely unnoticed by the rest of the world. I am reminded of the Book of Isaiah, where in chapter 40 the

prophet speaks of a 'voice crying out in the wilderness.' A few of our colleagues, like the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF), and the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE) have cried out again and again at the pain and suffering of the people of south Sudan. But for too long, they have been the lone voices in the wilderness."

I am here to say, Mr. Speaker, that I will add my voice willingly to the voices of the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE), the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF) and others who have been crying out in this wilderness for some time.

Hard as it is to believe, Mr. Speaker, there are still places on this earth where people can be abducted from their own homes, placed in chains, taken to a foreign land, branded, and forced to live out their lives as slaves. Hard as it is to believe, Mr. Speaker, these things are happening to people, and their own government is a culprit in the crime.

There are many issues, of course, being addressed in the resolution. I certainly want to add my support to all of them. But this particular issue needs to be brought to the attention of the American public because maybe this is the thing that will get someone to pay attention to this horrible situation in Sudan and bring some relief to these people.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, it is important to note that a vast majority of northern Sudanese citizens are not complicit in this oppression. To the contrary, many northerners are suffering under the regime and they would like to see it end also. As with most abusive regimes, a small minority of military extremists are driving the government's policies. Far from condemning all of the people of the north, we express our sympathy and solidarity with them.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. MEEKS), a member of the Subcommittee on Africa.

Mr. MEEKS of New York. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H. Con. Res. 75, and let me thank the Chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa, the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE) and the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE) for bringing this resolution to the floor. I think that it is time that we really pay attention to what is going on in the Sudan.

Mr. Speaker, 1.9 million people are dead. These are human beings, people who have flesh and blood just like us. How can we turn our backs on what is happening there? People taken from their homes and put into slavery. Our own dark history in this country knows the evils of slavery, and surely this is a chance for us in this country to redeem ourselves from what happened in our dark past, to make sure that that should never, ever happen on the face of the earth today.

How can we talk about going into the 21st century when slavery is still going on? How can we allow such a shameful act to continue? We must, as this resolution begins to do, do something and show that we care about human life; we care about people who may not be our immediate neighbors but they are our brothers in this world.

So I thank the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE) and the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE) and the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) for having the wisdom to bring this forward to the American public, and I think that we as a House and this administration need to surely focus on it as we do any other world crisis.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as she may consume to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. LEE).

Ms. LEE. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H. Con. Res. 75, and I want to thank the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) and the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE) and (Mr. PAYNE) for bringing this to not only the committee's attention but to the country's attention.

The war in the Sudan is currently Africa's longest running Civil War. It is estimated that 2 million people have died as a result of this war. The Sudanese conflict has caused major famine and misery for the people of southern Sudan.

This resolution condemns the National Islamic Front government for its genocidal war in southern Sudan and its support of terrorism and continued human rights violations.

The State Department is called upon to increase the diplomatic pressure on the NIF government and to provide greater leadership by strengthening the Intergovernmental Authority Development process.

The United States must take the moral high ground in addressing genocide throughout the world wherever it is occurring. The recent attention on the terror and the death and destruction in Yugoslavia causes many of us to question why there has been no attention and outrage over the 2 million people dying in the Sudan or over the 800,000 people who died in Rwanda.

Mr. Speaker, during the hearings on this resolution we heard some very sobering testimony about the lack of our own country's response to this human tragedy. There is an abolitionist movement taking place in this country here in 1999. Imagine, an abolitionist movement to free the slaves of Sudan. How tragic it is that in 1999 there must be in the United States of America an abolitionist movement. But we need this movement to assist us to help the public become aware of the great contributions and discrepancies in our policies toward Africa.

Mr. Speaker, I want to once again thank all of the leadership on this

issue and hope that we get a unanimous aye vote for this resolution.

□ 1130

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. McNULTY).

Mr. McNULTY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding. And I thank the chairman and ranking member and all of the sponsors for bringing this resolution to the floor. I strongly support it.

I traveled to Sudan in 1989. I did not know much about the Horn of Africa at the time. But I knew this: 280,000 people starved to death the year before, not because there was not enough food. There was a tremendous outpouring of support from people all over the world, and, I am proud to say, it came primarily from the United States of America. But that food did not get through to the innocent civilian populations because of this civil war.

I went to Sudan with the late Mickey Leland and the late Bill Emerson and my colleague GARY ACKERMAN. I watched in awe as Mickey Leland negotiated with the tyrant Sadiq al-Mahdi and with the leader of the SPLA John Garang, and even that unsavory character next door President Mengistu in Ethiopia to create these "corridors for peace." He was successful that year. And in that following year, deaths due to starvation dropped dramatically.

But in the time since then, we have focused our attention elsewhere. We have looked away from this tragedy and the situation today under Colonel Bashir is as bad as it has ever been.

As my friend and colleague the gentleman from New York (Mr. MEEKS) pointed out, 1.9 million people have already died in Sudan because of this civil war; 4 million people are internally displaced—more than any other nation on the face of the Earth. And we look the other way.

Mr. Speaker, we need to get our priorities straight; stop this war, secure the peace, end this human suffering. And we can start by passing and then implementing the provisions of this resolution.

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN), the distinguished chairman of the Committee on International Relations.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to cosponsor this resolution on Sudan, along with the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE), and rise today in strong support of the measure.

Sudan has had a long history of suffering. For many years, it has gone virtually unnoticed by the rest of the world. I am reminded that in the Book of Isaiah, where in chapter 40 the

prophet speaks of "a voice crying out in the wilderness."

A few of our colleagues, like the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF) and the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE) have cried out again and again at the pain and suffering of the people of southern Sudan. But for far too long, they have been the lone voices in the wilderness.

This resolution conveys the sadness and the frustration of this Congress with Sudan's government. The National Islamic Front, led by Dr. Hassan al-Turabi, has mounted a consistent, methodical campaign to eliminate their southern problem by any means necessary. It is chillingly reminiscent of the apartheid strategies launched by the National Party of South Africa in 1948 to eliminate the so-called "black problem."

Eventually, the National Party in South Africa learned the futility of apartheid, and tomorrow that country is going to celebrate the inauguration of its second democratically elected President. The National Islamic Front of Sudan will also learn, eventually, hopefully, the futility of its efforts to suppress the human spirit. But we wonder how many more lives are going to have to be lost before that lesson is truly learned.

One final but important note, Mr. Speaker: The vast majority of northern Sudanese citizens are not complicit in this oppression. To the contrary, many northerners are suffering under this regime and want to see it come to an end quickly. And as most abusive regimes, a small majority of militant extremists are driving the government's policies. Far from condemning all the people of the North, we express our sympathy and solidarity with them.

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE) and the other members of the committee for their work on this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, once again, I would like to thank everyone for the support.

Finally, the question of Sudan is starting to become an issue that people in this country and around the world are starting to focus on. We have seen Somalia. We have seen Haiti. We have seen Kosovo. But as these things were going on, Sudanese were still suffering. For the last 40 years, they have been suffering. So finally, I think enough is enough. The time is now for us to act.

I would also like to thank people like Barbara Vogel, who is a teacher out in Colorado whose youngsters have written letters about slavery, and they call themselves "The Little Abolitionists," and they have raised close to a \$100,000

to buy back people who have been in bondage in Sudan; and Father Dan Ethal, who is with the Norwegian People's Aid, who has worked so long in southern Sudan; and Roger Winters from the Refugee International; and Charles Jacobs, who heads the anti-Africa Slavery Committee.

When I concluded at a church service on our last day in southern Sudan, I simply told the people there that I had been there many years, as it was interpreted, but I said the next time I return to southern Sudan, I would hope to visit them in their own homes. There was a tremendous cheer that went out. So, hopefully, this resolution will move us toward that day where those people who have been suffering for decades and decades can go back to their own homes.

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H. Con. Res. 75, a resolution condemning the National Islamic Front government in Sudan for its support for terrorism, its human rights abuses and its genocidal war in Southern Sudan. I commend Representatives DON PAYNE for his leadership in sponsoring this resolution.

I also want to applaud Mr. PAYNE and Representative TOM TANCREDO for taking the time to visit Sudan during the Memorial Day recess. It is not an easy trip—it is in fact one of the most difficult places to visit in the entire world. But, people need to go there and see for themselves the suffering of the people. Once you have seen it—the desperate looks in their eyes, their utter destitution, the starvation, homelessness and disease—you cannot forget it. The willingness of Representative PAYNE and TANCREDO to go to Sudan gave the people there hope that they are not forgotten. This resolution is another message of hope.

The war in Sudan has gone on longer than almost any current conflict today. It has killed more people than in any war since the second World War—more than in Kosovo, Somalia, Rwanda, Chechnya and Bosnia combined. Some 2 million people or more have died in Sudan since the current phase of the war began in 1983. Most of the fallen are black Southern Sudanese. They have lost an entire generation to the fighting—probably two generations by now.

The January edition of the New York magazine contained an excellent article about the war in Sudan. It was titled *The invisible War*—an appropriate way to describe this conflict. At the end, the author William Finnegan asks a question we should all be asking ourselves: "The hard question is why the international community—the Western powers, really, led by the United States—is willing to invest so heavily in humanitarian relief and, at the same time, invest almost nothing in the diplomatic effort that might compel the warring parties to make peace." The war in Sudan has gone on for over 15 years, virtually unnoticed by the international community.

The United States has been and continue to be one of the largest country donors to the United Nations humanitarian relief effort in Sudan, Operation Lifeline Sudan. In FY 1998 along, the United States provided \$110 million in aid to humanitarian agencies providing as-

sistance in Sudan and additional \$150 million in surplus wheat. I applaud these efforts.

But, what has been lacking on the part of the U.S. government and the international community is the political will to engage itself in a substantive and aggressive effort to promote peace in Sudan. That is what is needed—peace in Sudan.

H. Con. Res. 75 describes the atrocities taking place—slavery; religious persecution; genocide against the Muslims and Christians in the Nuba Mountains and the people of Southern Sudan; high-altitude bombing of civilian targets like hospitals, churches and feeding centers.

The government restricts humanitarian groups to desperately needy areas of the country, thereby allowing hungry people to become starving people. Tens if not hundreds of thousands of people have died of starvation in the war years. The government of Sudan has banned all international aid groups from going into the Nuba Mountains region since 1989. Meanwhile, government troops have slashed and burned the entire region, leaving thousands homeless, naked, starving, orphaned, diseased and without hope.

Sudan is a humanitarian nightmare and a human rights disaster. The majority of the suffering is caused by the government of Sudan's war policy, its intransigence in negotiations, its radical philosophy and its brutal tactics.

The real problem is the war and the United States must turn its attention to bringing peace to Sudan. If it does so, many of these other issues will take care of themselves.

I support all the provisions in H. Con. Res. 75. The United States must increase support for non-governmental agencies working outside Operation Lifeline Sudan. It must provide aid for capacity-building in Southern Sudan so the areas outside the government of Sudan's control can learn to administer themselves and create some semblance of order. It must work to strengthen the independence of Operation Lifeline Sudan to prevent Khartoum from using aid as a weapon against people it opposes. These provisions will help save lives and make the lives of people of Southern Sudan a little better.

The United States must do more to support the National Democratic Alliance—the coalition of northern and southern parties in opposition to the NIF government.

The time has also come for the U.S. to provide diplomatic and material support for the Southern People's Liberation Army (SPLA).

However, I also believe strongly that the United States must appoint a special envoy for Sudan. It should be a person of stature such as former Senator Paul Simon or Nancy Kassebaum or a similar kind of person. Former Senator George Mitchell went to Northern Ireland some 60 times in pursuit of peace in that region. Aren't the people of Sudan worth the same kind of effort?

Achieving a just peace in Sudan should be the goal of the U.S. government and the international community.

I want to be clear on one point. I believe that the government of Sudan is one of the most evil governments of earth. Its policies have devastated the lives of the people of Northern and Southern Sudan alike. It sponsors international terrorism, allows slavery to

take place, uses food as a weapon, engages in coercive practices to force people to change their religion, tortures political opponents and commits many other egregious human rights abuses.

The NIF government has done very little to show themselves serious about peace and have thus made themselves one of them most isolated regimes on earth. The government of Sudan must understand that it will never become a full-fledged and respected member of the international community unless it gets serious about peace and stops its support for international terrorism.

But, the international community has continued to hide behind a flawed peace process, called the Inter-governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), which has produced a laudable Declaration of Principles but very little other real progress.

All the parties in Sudan must work for peace, but the International community must do more to force them to the table.

It's time to do more. For the sake of the people of Sudan, we must do more.

I urge this administration to appoint a special envoy for Sudan. We must get serious about peace in Sudan and put some diplomatic muscle into it.

In my office I have a picture of a young boy from Southern Sudan. It was taken 10 years ago by a member of my staff during my very first trip to Sudan in 1989. The boy is probably dead by now. But if he is not, what kind of life do you think he has been living?

This resolution lays out some excellent steps which must be taken immediately by the United States, the United Nations and the government of Sudan. I hope they will be taken seriously and implemented as soon as possible.

But, I hope the administration will go one step further and appoint a special envoy for Sudan.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SHIMKUS). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution, H. Con. Res. 75, as amended.

The question was taken.

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX and the Chair's prior announcement, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed.

SECURITY ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1999

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 973) to modify authorities with respect to the provision of security assistance under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and the Arms Export Control Act, and for other purposes, as amended.