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Miller, George
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Watkins (OK)
Watson (CA)
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Weiner

Weldon (FL)
Weller
Wexler
Whitfield
Wicker
Wilson

Wolf
Woolsey
Wu
Wynn
Young (AK)
Young (FL)

NAYS—6

Brady (TX)
Flake

Hostettler
Paul

Royce
Schaffer

NOT VOTING—8

Abercrombie
Becerra
Ferguson

Fossella
John
Johnson, E. B.

Tanner
Weldon (PA)

□ 1222

Mr. BRADY of Texas changed his vote from “yea” to “nay.”

Mr. NADLER and Mr. RUSH changed their vote from “nay” to “yea.”

So the bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

AUTHORIZING THE CLERK TO
MAKE CORRECTIONS IN EN-
GROSSMENT OF H.R. 1157, PA-
CIFIC SALMON RECOVERY ACT

Mr. GILCHREST. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Clerk be authorized to make technical corrections in the engrossment of H.R. 1157, including corrections in spelling, punctuation, section numbering and cross-referencing, and the insertion of appropriate headings.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SIMPSON). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. GILCHREST. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks, and to include extraneous material in the RECORD on H.R. 1157, the bill just passed.

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

There was no objection.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION
OF H.R. 2052, SUDAN PEACE ACT

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 162 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 162

Resolved, That at any time after the adoption of this resolution the Speaker may, pursuant to clause 2(b) of rule XVIII, declare the House resolved into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for consideration of the bill (H.R. 2052) to facilitate famine relief efforts and a comprehensive solution to the war in Sudan. The first reading of the bill shall be dispensed with.

Points of order against consideration of the bill for failure to comply with clause 4(a) of rule XIII are waived. General debate shall be confined to the bill and shall not exceed one hour equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on International Relations. After general debate the bill shall be considered for amendment under the five-minute rule. Each section of the bill shall be considered as read. During consideration of the bill for amendment, the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole may accord priority in recognition on the basis of whether the Member offering an amendment has caused it to be printed in the portion of the Congressional Record designated for that purpose in clause 8 of rule XVIII. Amendments so printed shall be considered as read. At the conclusion of consideration of the bill for amendment the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit with or without instructions.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Florida (Mr. DIAZ-BALART) is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, for purposes of debate only, I yield the customary 30 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. HALL), pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume. During consideration of this resolution, all time yielded is for the purpose of debate only.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 162 is an open rule providing for the consideration of H.R. 2052, the Sudan Peace Act. The rule provides for 1 hour of general debate, evenly divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on International Relations. This is a completely fair rule. In fact, as I stated before, it is an open rule allowing all Members the opportunity to present amendments and, obviously, to debate this very important issue.

The current situation in Sudan, Mr. Speaker, is extremely grave. More than 2 million men, women, and children have perished due to war-related causes; and more than 3 million men, women, and children have been forced from their homes. Thousands of children have been abducted and forcibly converted to practices that they reject, and slavery has become an institution of the so-called National Islamic Front. Many of these same men, women, and children have suffered harsh beatings and torture.

In the face of this horrific tragedy, the Government of Sudan has continually blocked the efforts to provide aid to the people who need it most. Famine has been a constant, and the World Food Program has record that 3 million Sudanese will require emergency food aid this year alone. The situation is clearly intolerable, and we should do what we can to provide relief to the millions of displaced people in Sudan.

In addition to the human rights abuses in their own region, the Government of Sudan has also, rightfully so, been considered a rogue state by much of the international community because of its support for international terrorism. The Government of Sudan has supported acts of international terrorism and allows the use of its territory for terrorist groups. The government there has been a safe haven for major terrorist figures. To preserve the safety of our Nation and to help with the safety and the security of the world, the international community, we must continue to send the message that support for terrorist activities is simply unacceptable.

The underlying legislation, the Sudan Peace Act, condemns the prosecution of the war by the National Islamic Front government and the associated human rights abuses. The legislation also acknowledges the role that oil has played in the war, expresses this Congress' support for an internationally sanctioned peace process, and urges the President to make previously appropriated funds available to the National Democratic Alliance. Additionally, the legislation requires businesses engaged in commercial activity in Sudan to publicly disclose the extent of their activities before raising money in American capital markets.

The underlying legislation has broad bipartisan support. The Bush administration has made Sudan a priority by announcing its intent to dispatch a special envoy; and I believe that now it is our turn, Congress' turn, to make Sudan a priority by passing this important piece of legislation.

I would like to thank the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDO) and all those who have worked so hard to bring this important piece of legislation to the floor. I urge my colleagues in the strongest possible terms to support both this open rule and the underlying legislation.

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

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume, and I want to thank the gentleman from Florida (Mr. DIAZ-BALART) for yielding me the customary time.

This is an open rule. It will allow for consideration of the Sudan Peace Act. As my colleague has described, this rule will provide 1 hour of general debate to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on International Relations. The rule permits amendments under the 5-minute rule. This is the normal amending process in the House.

Mr. Speaker, at a recent hearing of the Committee on International Relations, Secretary of State Colin Powell described Sudan as one of the world's greatest tragedies. Sudan is a nation of

about 35 million people. It is on the northeast coast of Africa, south of Egypt and north of Kenya. It is blessed with rich natural resources. However, an 18-year-old civil war and a very oppressive government have conspired to create widespread hunger, famine, and suffering.

□ 1230

Mr. Speaker, I have been to Sudan three times. There are Members of this Congress who have been there more, such as my colleague and friend, the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF).

My last trip was in May of 1998. During that trip, I witnessed a level of human misery as great as any I have ever seen. I saw vultures cleaning the bones of cattle and people killed by slave raiders. I saw a man who had just buried his entire murdered family. I saw people who had nothing to eat but the roots of water lilies in malaria-infested swamps. I saw children in aid stations who were too weak to cry.

Mr. Speaker, in some ways conditions have worsened since that trip; although it is hard to imagine that could be possible. Famine still threatens a large part of the population. Human rights conditions are shocking, and the practice of slavery continues. What has happened is that the development of oil fields in the southern part of Sudan has contributed to more suffering as people and whole villages are removed to make way for oil drilling and the oil revenues to fuel the war machine.

Mr. Speaker, the Sudan Peace Act takes a series of steps to promote peace in this land of tragedy. It requires companies that trade their securities on U.S. stock exchanges to disclose information about their business dealings in Sudan. It also urges the administration to take steps to relieve suffering and to end the civil war in Sudan.

Although I support the purpose of the bill, I am concerned about some of the language, especially the language that criticizes the efforts of Operation Lifeline Sudan. This is a food relief effort that is carried out by UNICEF, the World Food Program, and other organizations.

The bill proposes cutting U.S. assistance to Operation Lifeline Sudan and redirects funds to other relief efforts. Operation Lifeline Sudan serves about 90 aid stations every month. The government of Sudan bans flights to air strips in about one-fifth of the areas that need help. However, Operation Lifeline Sudan is able to gain access to most of these areas by road or by using permitted air strips. The ban actually blocks delivery to only four out of 90 destinations on an average of every month. The real access problem is the result of ongoing fighting and poor road infrastructure.

I am afraid that directing U.S. support away from Operation Lifeline Sudan to other agencies without the

experience and the ability of the United Nations food relief organizations would not improve food delivery to Sudan and could make matters worse. These organizations are doing an outstanding job under very, very difficult conditions.

Finally, I wish to offer my support for an amendment which will be offered by the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. BACHUS) and the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) and myself. This amendment would block businesses that develop oil or gas in Sudan from raising capital or trading securities in the United States. Threatening Sudan's oil development should provide an immediate incentive to bring all warring parties to the negotiating table. This concept was recommended by the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom.

Mr. Speaker, I support this open rule. Despite my concerns, I support the bill and I urge its adoption.

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

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN).

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague from Florida for yielding me this time. The widespread, systematic, heinous, and brutal crimes committed against the Sudanese people, the rape, the slavery, the mutilation, the systematic killing of millions throughout the years in what many assert is a deliberate campaign of genocide by the regime in Khartoum demands action by the U.S. Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to render their full support to the Sudan Peace Act before us today. When the question is posed: What can the people of the free world and, in particular, the U.S. Government do about one of the world's most tragic situations? What can be done about slavery and genocide in Sudan? We should start by calling things as they are for what they are.

This is why the Sudan Peace Act condemns the gross violations of human rights, the ongoing slave trade in Sudan, and the pivotal role played by the Sudanese regime in aiding and abetting these practices. There are those who may be willing to initiate and expand oil operations in southern Sudan that will generate billions of dollars in annual revenue for the terrorist regime in Khartoum. However, the U.S. must stand firm in the face of egregious violations of international legal and moral standards.

The Sudan Peace Act seeks to deter the financing of the regime from access to U.S. capital markets by establishing disclosure requirements on business activities in Sudan, and prohibiting securities trading in the U.S. until such requirements are met. The information to be provided to the Securities and Exchange Commission regarding the

nature and the extent of the commercial activity with this pariah state, the identity of Sudanese government agencies involved in such businesses, and the linkage to religious persecution and other human rights violations shall be made available to the public. All of this, in conjunction with reporting requirements detailing the sources and the status of Sudan's financing and the construction of the infrastructure and the pipelines for oil exploitation, will put the spotlight on those who help to prolong the oppression and the suffering. We will finally place the spotlight on those oppressors.

These are the people who help to propagate slavery, those who persecute the religious movement, and other religious human rights abuses. We are going to stop providing a financial lifeline to the Sudanese regime.

The U.S. must also help ensure that the humanitarian assistance sent to Sudan is not being manipulated and is in fact reaching the intended recipients so we can help alleviate some of the suffering in this war-torn nation.

The Sudan Peace Act has various provisions to address this critical issue, including reporting requirements and the development of contingency plans for the distribution of aid to the affected areas should the Sudanese regime impose any type of ban on air transport relief flights.

This bill seeks to provide a comprehensive approach to the war in Sudan and to facilitate a process which will help bring justice to the victims of the genocide and achieve this much-desired goal of peace. I, therefore, ask my colleagues to vote in favor of H.R. 2052.

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. MENENDEZ).

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the Sudan Peace Act. The National Islamic Front, which rules the Sudan, is one of the most degenerate and depraved regimes this world has ever known. It kidnaps, rapes, tortures, bombards; and yes, in this 21st century, enslaves its own civilians. It manipulates, blocks, and even bombs relief flights to advance its war aims. It attempts to destabilize the governments of its neighbors, including by assassination. And it sponsors terrorism abroad, including against the United States.

The situation in the Sudan is not only a humanitarian crisis, it is a crisis of humanity. Its extreme severity and sheer depravity call for international action. And it calls especially for United States leadership, which this bill provides.

While I support the appointment of a diplomatic envoy to advance the peace process, let me underscore that only international pressure has moved the thugs of Khartoum to make even the slightest gesture towards peace. They have been mostly empty gestures and lies at that.

This bill has it right. Only international sanctions and pressures can affect this regime's unconscionable behavior. This bill will also have the Secretary of State report on war crimes from all sides. In my view, it is evident that the Sudanese regime are genocidal war criminals.

The disclosure requirement on business activities make it clear that the line has to be drawn somewhere, and I fully support it. National interests cannot be determined simply by the color of money. But let us be realistic about any prospects for progress.

On May 25, the regime said they will cease bombing, and within a week they were bombing in the south and the western Nuba mountains. In the last couple of days, the government came close to hitting two World Food Program food planes, and bombed the civilian areas that were intended recipients of that aid in Bahr al-Gazal.

Mr. Speaker, we are morally obliged to do what we can to help the hungry, the abused, the besieged, and enslaved people of the Sudan. Let us have no illusions as to their intent, but let us do what we can. Let us pass the Sudan Peace Act.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. WELDON).

Mr. WELDON of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this rule and in support of the underlying bill. I just want to say a few numbers loud and clear for everyone to hear. Over 2 million people are dead. Over 4 million people have been displaced.

Mr. Speaker, these are not just numbers. These are individuals. These are people: women, children, mothers, fathers, brothers, and sisters. We hear these numbers from far away, from Africa here in Washington; and for too long the plight of these oppressed people in the Sudan has just been ignored. It is imperative that we recognize the total devastation that has been going on and that we take serious action against these oppressors.

This is a civil war in the Sudan that has been going on for 14 years and wreaking devastation on the Sudanese people. The National Islamic Front government of the Sudan has been on a rampant campaign against its own people. The Sudan Islamic fundamentalist regime has brought killings, evictions, and slavery to its own people. The regime is on a deliberate campaign of genocide against the black Christians and other non-Islamic people in southern Sudan. Eyewitnesses have testified over and over again before Congress about the Sudanese government's active efforts to promote slavery, torture, rape, mutilation, and killing.

Mr. Speaker, myself and other House Members have been taking action to bring this genocide into the limelight and focusing our efforts on stopping

this brutality. H.R. 2052 is a good bipartisan measure that will facilitate famine relief efforts and a comprehensive solution to the war in the Sudan.

Mr. Speaker, although the Islamic government has claimed that they will end the bombing of civilian targets, as was previously stated by the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. MENENDEZ), the evidence is directly in conflict with that claim.

The impending famine in the south and the improved military technology of the government threaten millions more of these poor, defenseless civilians in southern Sudan.

Mr. Speaker, we need this bill, and I encourage all my colleagues to vote for the rule and to vote in support of the underlying bill. Most importantly, I encourage my colleagues to continue their engagement on this issue. To simply vote for this bill and forget about the problem is not doing enough. We must remain engaged.

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE).

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise to support not only of the rule but the underlying bill. I rise to support as well the leadership of the ranking member of the Committee on Rules who I know has had a long-standing history on this issue; as has the gentleman from Florida (Mr. DIAZ-BALART) on the majority side.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this particular legislation sponsored by the gentleman from (Mr. TANCREDO) and the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE).

□ 1245

I thank them both for their leadership, because this is a vital legislative initiative. I am gratified that the House will consider an important piece of legislation that condemns slavery and human rights abuses in Sudan, human rights that have been violated time and time again.

Mr. Speaker, it is unfortunate that Sudan and the Sudanese people have chosen not to listen, and when I say the Sudanese people, those who are governing, because there are those who have been put upon and who have been brutalized because of the failure to understand that all people are created equal. I am thankful that the legislation sets conditions of genocide as it relates to the Convention on Genocide. Genocide and war crimes must be addressed by the international judicial entities to ensure that justice is achieved. I am delighted that this legislation calls for the United Nations to be used as a tool for peace and condemns slavery by all combatants. It permits a revision of Operation Lifeline Sudan; encourages support for an internationally sanctioned peace process authorized by the Secretary of

State to support the peace process; provides transparency for foreign companies operating in Sudan that have capital markets in the United States; and it condemns the bombing of innocent civilians.

As the ranking member of the full committee and the chairman of the full committee, both the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) and the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) have been on the forefront of human rights. They realize that we have tried to work continuously to be able to address the issue of what is going on in Sudan, the violence in Sudan. Numbers of Congresspersons have visited Sudan, including the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE), who have gone in on foot, by plane, bus and train, attempting to work with those and attempting to create peace. Yet no one is listening.

Tens of thousands of people have died a slow and painful death by starvation as a result of the actions by the government in Khartoum preventing food from getting to the people in need. Will anyone listen? Do they realize that families are being destroyed? That children are dying? That Christians who want nothing else but to be able to practice their faith and live in peace are being destroyed and killed? Not only is the government of Sudan a terrorist regime but also a genocidal one, responsible for slavery, bombing raids against humanitarian targets, massacres and deliberate starvation in the southern part of the country where Sudan's religious and racial minorities reside. Two million people have died, Mr. Speaker.

I would simply say as I was able to pass legislation dealing with children soldiers, prohibiting them and requiring a study by the State Department authorization bill, H.R. 1646, this bill sends a loud and resounding sign, no more, no more. No more brutalization, no more loss of life. Peace in the valley. The Sudanese people must be free and the Sudanese government must be taught a lesson.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of H.R. 2052, The Sudan Peace Act. I am gratified that the House will consider an important piece of legislation that condemns slavery and human rights abuses in Sudan. I am a co-sponsor of this critical legislative initiative because I believe we must confront the atrocities being committed in the Sudan.

Let me be clear on what the Act does do. First we must be thankful that the legislation sets the conditions of genocide as it relates to the Convention on Genocide. Genocide and war crimes must be addressed by the international judicial entities to ensure that justice is achieved. But the bill does a great deal more to ensure peace. It calls for the United Nations to be used as a tool for peace; condemns slavery by all combatants; it permits a revision of Operation Lifeline Sudan; encourages support for internationally sanctioned peace process authorized by the Secretary of State to support the peace process; provides

transparency for foreign companies operating in Sudan that have capital markets in the United States; and it condemns the bombing of innocent civilians.

The bill does not amend our Federal securities laws or call for capital market sanctions, or importing sanctions. It does not address those issues because we are focused on stopping the atrocities from continuing in the Sudan.

The staggering scale of atrocities in Sudan has caused me and several other Members of Congress to support this measure. Tens of thousands of people have died a slow and painful death by starvation as a result of the actions by the Khartoum preventing food from getting to the people in need. Not only is the Government of Sudan a terrorist regime but also a genocidal one responsible for slavery, bombing raids against humanitarian targets, massacres, and deliberate starvation in the southern part of the country where Sudan's religious and racial minorities reside. An estimated 1.9 million people have died of causes linked to Sudan's 17-year-old civil war. Over 4.3 million have been uprooted. These are simply egregious human rights abuses that must be addressed by the United States together with the international community.

While the current stage of this conflict, being waged primarily between the National Islamic Front (NIF) and other warring factions. The Government of Sudan has waged a brutal campaign against civilians. Although the National Islamic Front government recently pledged to end bombing of civilian targets, there is little evidence that the conflict is nearing resolution. Indeed, the improved military technology of the government, combined with an impending famine in the south, threaten to virtually destroy the population of southern Sudan by the year's end.

H.R. 2052 addresses this situation in a comprehensive manner. The legislation actually requires the Secretary of State to reinvestigate international diplomatic peace efforts that are desperately needed to bring closure to the fighting and an end to the atrocities. We need the foreign policy team of America to help play a constructive role in the Sudan.

The legislation also creatively requires all businesses trading securities in the United States capital markets and operating in Sudan to disclose fully the extent of their involvement in Sudan. This will provide transparency to the nature of business being done in the Sudan. This is an important step, Mr. Speaker.

Let me just add that we must rid the use of child soldiers in conflict. Children used as soldiers are unacceptable. As a result of an amendment that I offered and was adopted during consideration of the H.R. 1646, the State Department authorization bill, the United States will now begin to collect specific information on those nations that use children as children soldiers. If children continue to be used in this conflict as soldiers, the world community will not only know but the United States will formally have the opportunity to raise this matter with the Sudanese government.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 2052, the Sudan Peace Act, reflects bipartisan support to end the atrocities being committed in the Sudan. I strongly urge my colleagues to vote in favor of the bill.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Florida (Mr. STEARNS).

Mr. STEARNS. I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, Edmund Burke, who was a distinguished politician in England, said it best when he said that the only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing. So, Mr. Speaker, let us not be idle this afternoon.

The size of Sudan's population is about 35 million people. This event has been going on, off and on, since 1955. This is something that we should take quite seriously and try to come to grips with in this House to do something constructively. The humanitarian crisis in southern Sudan is considered one of the worst in decades. Efforts at national, regional and international levels to bring peace and stability to the region have so far been unsuccessful, and outbreaks of fighting and mass population displacements continue to occur. This vicious operation against citizens has resulted, as mentioned before, in the loss of 2 million souls and left 4 million homeless.

These statistics fall in this House, but they are so meaningful. The 14-year recent civil war has also brought drought and raids that have been backed by the government. They back these militias. They have disrupted the distribution of food aid and obstructed assessments of need in severely affected areas. In short, we are not able to discern the exact need. We only know as we stand on the House floor today that it is great.

The Sudan Peace Act does several things that attempt to address the many complicated issues that are facing the people of Sudan. First of all, the reporting requirement included in this bill would serve as a deterrent to foreign companies raising money in United States markets for oil development activities in Sudan, activities which undoubtedly have an effect on human rights and religious freedom. The thriving oil industry in Sudan, according to the International Monetary Fund, has allowed the Sudanese government to double its military budget. Some believe that because of the prosperity of the oil export, the National Islamic Front, NIF, which is the controlling governmental authority, is not interested in negotiating seriously to end this war.

More importantly, it condemns the war being waged by the NIF government in Khartoum. The NIF views itself as the protector of Islam in Sudan. Any political dissent is seen as being anti-Islam and any action against religious opposition is understood as justified in what the NIF believes is a holy war.

According to a March 2001 report by the congressionally established U.S. Commission on International Religious

Freedom, quote, the government of Sudan continues to commit egregious human rights abuses, including widespread bombing of civilian and humanitarian targets, abduction and enslavement by government-sponsored militias, manipulation of humanitarian assistance as a weapon of war and severe restrictions on religious freedom.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation is not the total solution to the humanitarian crisis in Sudan, but, rather, in a small way, it is a contribution to a larger effort which we should embark on here in Congress, an effort that will bring a long-term commitment to a suffering people whom we do not know but whose human freedom we take seriously today.

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. McNULTY).

Mr. McNULTY. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend from Ohio for yielding me the time. I rise in support of the rule and the Sudan Peace Act. But I submit, Mr. Speaker, that this is not enough.

I traveled to Sudan in the year 1989 with our late colleague Mickey Leland, with our late colleague Bill Emerson, and with GARY ACKERMAN. I saw firsthand the human devastation in that country. And here we are in the year 2001 witnessing the same civil war, the same devastation and basically the same participants. Sadiq al-Mahdi was in charge in Khartoum when we were there, but he was replaced later that year by Lieutenant Colonel Bashir, who is still in power. John Garang was then and is now the leader of the SPLA.

We traveled, after we left Khartoum, to the south to Muglad and Waw, a couple of the refuge camps. I cannot describe to you the feeling of looking out at a crowd of thousands and thousands of people who are not sure where their next meal is going to come from. One of the NGO officials at the time said, "Congressman, would you like to see our hospital?" I became encouraged for a moment. I was going to see a medical facility. They took me to their medical facility, which was a great big tent. It was large, and it was air-conditioned, just to keep people alive, but the medical facility was primitive at best. It became clear to me why it was so difficult to get medical personnel from the continent and elsewhere in the world to donate their time and to go there. The NGO officials explained to me that initially they had an outpouring of support from volunteer medical personnel from around the world but once they got there, the situation was so primitive as far as what they had to work with that they would get discouraged and leave.

Now, I am suggesting, Mr. Speaker, that we do something more than just pass the Sudan Peace Act. I think that the United States role has to be much more, and I am not talking about mili-

tary intervention. We have become involved in negotiations for peace in many other areas of the world where there is much less human devastation. We became heavily involved in the situation in Ireland, and especially because of my heritage I am very happy that we did that. We have made significant progress with the Good Friday Accords. We are not where we want to be but we are making progress. That is because the President of the United States got directly involved and got people together and we made significant progress.

We have been doing that for years in the Middle East. We are not where we want to be in the Middle East, but we have made significant progress—most notably starting with the Camp David Accords back during the Carter administration. We have moved step by step. We are much better off today than we were a generation ago, but we still have a lot of work to do.

Bosnia, etc. We keep going down the list. We got directly involved.

Why is Africa the forgotten continent when there is so much more human devastation there? Compare it, for example, to the situation in Ireland, which I feel very deeply about. From the time that the current troubles started in 1969, 3,000 innocent people have died. That bothers me a lot. But in this one nation on the forgotten continent of Africa, in a shorter period of time, less than two decades, 2 million people have died. Two million innocent men, women and children have died. The year before Mickey led that delegation in 1989, 280,000 people starved to death in that one country in that one year.

Why is this the forgotten continent? Why can we not become more directly involved? Members might ask me, what am I suggesting? I am suggesting that the President of the United States make this a priority. When I say that, I am not directing anything at the current President. He just started his term, so this is a new suggestion to him. Other Presidents, Democratic and Republican before, have not done that. I am suggesting that he do that and focus on this international issue, get Bashir and Garang to the negotiating table, and get a cease-fire. I think if we have the leadership of the President of the United States, the leader of this country and the leader of the free world, we can get the international attention that we need to stop the human devastation in Sudan.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Indiana (Mr. PENCE).

Mr. PENCE. I thank the gentleman from Florida for yielding me this time and for his leadership on this issue.

Mr. Speaker, the United States Department of State released a statement on Friday to report that the National Islamic Front government of Sudan

launched a series of aerial bombings in southern Sudan 1 week ago. These attacks clearly targeted civilian areas, an act Khartoum pledged not to do only 2 weeks prior to the bombings.

Mr. Speaker, while the Sudan Peace Act condemns human rights violations by all sides of this four-decade-old conflict, it is important to note that it recognizes that the NIF government bears the greatest responsibility for the violations. The NIF has continually blocked humanitarian relief efforts and apparently now bombs civilian areas.

Mr. Speaker, it is important that the American people know that the heart of this conflict has deep religious origins. As the gentlewoman from Texas said only moments ago, last year the State Department designated Sudan as a country of particular concern because the NIF commits what is commonly believed to be the world's worst acts of religious persecution.

As a Christian, Mr. Speaker, it particularly grieves me to report that the worst of these acts of persecutions are against Christian believers in Sudan. Christian southern Sudanese are sexually abused, beaten and forced into religious conversion. Matthias Akabd was arrested in January of 1995 along with his wife and his infant son. They have not been heard from since. The Akabd family is merely one example of tens of thousands of persecuted Christians in southern Sudan who are discriminated against, stripped of their freedom, enslaved, imprisoned, tortured and even killed.

As the Good Book says, Mr. Speaker, "Remember those who are in prison as if we were their fellow prisoners and those who are mistreated as if we ourselves were suffering."

Mr. Speaker, by supporting the Sudan Peace Act, the Congress will do much today to fulfill this noble commission.

□ 1300

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. BOSWELL).

Mr. BOSWELL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlemen who have worked on this very, very important piece of legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to support the rule and the passage of the bill, and I am thankful for this opportunity to give my support. The situation in Sudan came to my personal attention as a result of constituent case work, diligently completed by Karen Kinkel of my Iowa district office staff.

In April of 1999, we received a letter from a constituent, Paula Friederich of Ames, regarding her passionate concern for a group of children now commonly referred to as the "Lost Boys of the Sudan." Paula and her husband, Dr. Jim Friederich, expressed their desire and their commitment to assist financially the plight of two of these lost boys in particular.

The Friederichs had recently learned of the war in the Sudan from a young man named Madul Aguan, who is currently a senior at Iowa State University. I submit for the RECORD today a copy of the experience of how he escaped as a young lad of 8 years old. His father had been killed, who was a Dinka chief, when the war that raged separated him from his mother. Then they came back and were going to take the children, and he escaped over into Ethiopia into a refugee camp.

The experience of what he went through is just heartrending. By force he was returned to the Sudan and then he was shot, broken ribs and wounded severely, and he survived that. Then he went to another refugee camp. To make a long story short, he finally landed in the United States with help from the State Department and many other entities. So he landed there and as a youngster was going to school in Kansas City, sleeping on a mattress in a leaky basement but kept pushing on. He said, I have freedom. It is okay. I have freedom.

Then he landed up in Ames. Now he is in the State University where he met the Friederichs and told them of his brother and his nephew that were having a similar situation. So the Friederichs set out to help. They worked with us and we worked with them, and the work went on and on and on.

Last winter, on a cold night in Des Moines, Iowa, off the airplane came the brother and the nephew. The brother and the nephew, which I will show here, Aguan in the middle, had not seen each other for 15 years, little children at the time, and here they were. They came and they were reunited in the United States. They are in a warm home with loving care, getting an education and moving forward in their lives.

That experience to me and for all of us should be a reminder that being in Congress is a lot more than just casting a vote here and there. Sometimes the most rewarding experiences that we can have are for our constituents and the positive role that plays, and such an important factor in their life. I am hopeful today we will not only pass this rule and this bill that will help bring this to an end, I would encourage everybody that is listening and thinking about it, give it their wholehearted support. It is the right thing to do.

In 1986, when Aguan was 8 years old, Northern Sudanese troops attacked his village of Lou Mawein in Southern Sudan. Aguan's father, a Dinka chief, had been assassinated in 1983. In the confusion of this battle, Aguan was separated from his mother. After two days of attacks from the northern troops, the Sudanese Peoples Liberation Army (SPLA), in Aguan's words, "came into the village to bury the dead, tend to the wounded and gather up the children who parents were killed or lost".

At this time, Aguan began walking, barefoot, to an Ethiopian refuge camp. It is my understanding that many other children did not survive the journey to Ethiopia, dying when attacked by crocodiles as they passed through the Gilo river. During the last three days of his journey, Aguan had no food or water. Aguan stayed in an Ethiopian refuge camp for five years, until Ethiopia had its own civil war. As a result of this war, Aguan was forced to return to southern Sudan, which was once again attacked by northern troops. With the assistance of the United Nations, Aguan went to Kapoeta to be protected by the SPLA. However Kapoeta was attacked, and Aguan was shot. The bullet broke his ribs, collapsed his lung and caused internal bleeding. He was taken by the Red Cross to Lokichoggio, Kenya for surgery. At this time, Aguan was placed in the Kakuma refuge camp, in northern Kenya.

According to Aguan the conditions in the camp were inhumane. The water was polluted and there was little food. The tents were overcrowded. After two years, Aguan went to Nairobi for medical exams. Following results of the exam, he began the process of obtaining a referral as a refugee for resettlement. When he was approved for resettlement as a refugee by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Aguan immigrated to the United States. This was made possible through the primary assistance of the Joint Voluntary Agency and the Red Cross. Aguan worked to put himself through high school in Kansas City, Missouri, sleeping on a mattress in a leaky basement for three years. Aguan told the Friederich's he was just "happy to be free".

Following high school graduation, Aguan attended the Des Moines Area Community College for one year before transferring to Iowa State University, where he now majors in International Law. Aguan plans to attend law school following graduation.

This story of Aguan's escape from the Sudan was shared with Jim and Paula Friederich. Aguan then asked the Friederich's if there was any way they could help him bring two surviving family members, a brother and a nephew, to the United States for the purpose of family reunification.

I brought this inquiry to the attention of the appropriate African Population, Refugee and Migration Bureau (PRM) representative of the State Department which coordinates overall United States Government policy on assistance, protection and resettlement of refugees. Refugee resettlement involves the White House, National Security Council, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of State, Department of Health and Human Service, the International Organization for Migration, the Joint Voluntary Agency (Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service), the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and the United States Congress.

After working for over two years to facilitate communication with the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and the State Department on behalf of Aguan and the Friederich's, Aguan's brother and nephew were located, and were granted approval for refugee resettlement in September 2000. They arrived at the Des Moines International Airport in January of 2001. Aguan had not seen his brother

in over fifteen years. He last saw his nephew eight years ago. Aguan's brother and nephew have similar stories of how they survived and escaped and the war in southern Sudan.

I believe that this reunion would not have been possible without the assistance of the aforementioned federal agencies, coupled with the concern and involvement of the Friederich's, and the persistent work of my casework staff.

Members on both sides of the aisle, there is a civil war in the Sudan that has been raging for the past 18 years. As a result of this war, children are lost from their families, and many are sold into slavery. The fortunate ones escape to surrounding countries, but often with little hope for a future. I have been touched by this story. It is my desire to bring an end to this war, and now is the time to take action on behalf of the helpless who remain in Sudan. Please join me in support of H.R. 2052.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE), a man who has spent a lot of time on this issue. He has traveled to Sudan. He is an expert on so many countries in Africa.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I stand in strong support of the rule and would like to commend the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. HALL), who chairs a hunger committee, for his tireless work not only in Africa but around the world where he travels at his own danger in some instances to investigate and bring back the report of what is going on.

I would also certainly like to commend the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), who has given all of the support that we need for issues in the continent of Africa. I would also like to mention the work of the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDO), who is the sponsor of the Sudan Peace Act.

The first congressional delegation that the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDO) went on was a trip with me and Senator BROWNBACK to southern Sudan. It was quite a way to initiate congressional travel. I told him that it was not always like this when Congresspeople travel.

His interest, his curiosity, his want to learn inspired him to move this bill.

Also a long-time warrior, the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF), has spent many, many, many hours and days and months traveling, working for the benefit of people throughout the world and in Sierra Leone and in Sudan.

The gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE), the chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa, has done an outstanding job. So I think this is a great opportunity for a bipartisan move to talk about probably the worst scourge on the Earth today, a pariah government, a government which bombs its own people, starves its own people, tortures its own people.

There are other people, too, like Charles Jacobs from the anti-slavery

movement and Nina Shay from a commission to deal with religious discrimination.

What I think is finally happening is that America, the world, is starting to see about this tragedy of Sudan: 1.9 million people dead, 4.4 million people displaced. Finally, it has been too long but I hope that the new administration will have vigor to see us change the pariah government in Khartoum so people can have the ability to live a normal life.

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. CLEMENT).

Mr. CLEMENT. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank several people that have worked so hard concerning the Sudan Peace Act. I do support the rule.

I want to congratulate the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. HALL), the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF), the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE), the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDO), and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) for their leadership and strong support. I was one of the authors of the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998, which set in place the framework for U.S. action against violations of religious freedom around the world.

The Sudan Peace Act is a worthy successor to that act, and I am proud to be an original cosponsor. The tragedies of Sudan are truly unspeakable, though we must attempt to make them clear to the world. Some 2 million people dead in the war, millions more displaced; women and children abducted and raped by government-backed militia; torture of dissidents; bombing of hospitals and schools. It is an endless litany of suffering.

This act clearly condemns these atrocities perpetrated by an extremist and heartless regime. This act strengthens our ability to provide assistance to the suffering civilians of Sudan, particularly in areas barred from relief by the government. It reinforces our commitment to negotiating peace; and of tremendous importance, it requires that businesses that want to raise capital from American investors disclose any dealings in oil development in Sudan. That oil is blood oil. It has enriched the war machine of the government and emboldened Khartoum to believe that it will enjoy limitless funds to crush its own people into submission.

I urge all my colleagues to denounce these atrocities and vote for the Sudan Peace Act.

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I would simply say that the rule is a good rule. It is in good shape. It is open. The bill is not a perfect bill. It is very hard to pass a perfect bill on an issue like Sudan, where millions of people have died. They have

fought for years. I am particularly impressed and glad that in the bill when it talks about the broad bipartisan support of this bill from the House of Representatives, it condemns violations of human rights by all sides to the conflict.

I know that for the most part today, what we have heard is the very, very serious and very troubling human rights violations coming from the north and coming from the government, but there is blood in the south as well. Tribes fight tribes. Leaders use innocent people, and there is blood on both sides. I hope that this bill will not only address some of those issues but will go a long way in helping bring this terrible war to an end.

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

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I commend all of my colleagues who have spoken so eloquently on this very, very important subject and join them in urging the House to obviously support this open rule, but also the underlying legislation.

We, I hope, speak on this moral issue in a very united fashion this afternoon.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time, and I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

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 and to include extraneous material on H.R. 2052.

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

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. DIAZ-BALART). Pursuant to House Resolution 162 and rule XVIII, the Chair declares the House in the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill, H.R. 2052.

□ 1313

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly, the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 2052) to facilitate famine relief efforts and a comprehensive solution to the war in Sudan, with Mr. SIMPSON in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Pursuant to the rule, the bill is considered as having been read the first time.

Under the rule, the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE) and the gen-

tleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) each will control 30 minutes.

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

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

Mr. Chairman, firstly I would like to thank the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDO), a member of the Subcommittee on Africa that I chair, for introducing the Sudan Peace Act.

The ranking member of the Subcommittee on Africa, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE), has been a strong supporter of this legislation, as has the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS). I want to thank them for their assistance.

I would also like to thank the chairman of the Committee on International Relations, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE), for his efforts on behalf of this bipartisan bill.

As we have heard during the debate on the rule, Sudan is suffering through what is probably today the longest civil war in the world. The fighting between the radical government in the north and forces in the south has led to suffering on such a massive scale that it is estimated today that close to 2 million Sudanese have died of war-related causes since 1983.

There are 4 million Sudanese internally displaced in that country, 2 million living in squatter areas in Khartoum. Over 3 million Sudanese will require emergency food aid this year if they are to survive.

□ 1315

Famine is a constant in Sudan. At a March hearing of the Committee on International Relations, Secretary of State Colin Powell said that Sudan is one of the greatest tragedies on the face of the Earth. There is no greater tragedy, he said.

Well, I think Secretary Powell is right. He recently traveled to Africa, where Secretary Powell consulted with African leaders about the crisis in Sudan. Early signs indicate a strong administration commitment to addressing this crisis, and this legislation is designed to bolster the administration's effort.

The Sudan Peace Act condemns violations of human rights on all sides of the conflict. However, it recognizes that it is the Sudanese government and groups under its control that bears by far the greatest responsibility for human rights violations.

The Sudanese regime regularly blocks humanitarian relief efforts and bombs humanitarian and civilian centers. Southern Sudanese are victimized by slave raids, which this legislation recognizes as government-backed, as well as by religious persecution, which is commonly believed to be the worst religious persecution in the world.

Last year, the State Department again designated Sudan as a country of

particular concern due to its systematic and egregious violations of religious freedom. Sudanese forced into slavery are subject to all forms of physical abuse, including beatings and sexual abuse, and forced religious conversions.

Congress has gone on record before expressing concern over the strife and human suffering that is occurring there in this country. In 1999, the House of Representatives passed a resolution condemning the Sudanese government for "its genocidal war" in southern Sudan. The Sudan Peace Act condemns the government of Sudan in the strongest possible terms, finding again that its acts constitute what we term genocide.

Here are some of the particulars in the bill. The bill requires companies with operations in Sudan to disclose the nature of their Sudanese operations before they are permitted to trade their securities in U.S. capital markets. This disclosure includes the nature of those operations and their relationship to violations of religious freedom and other human rights in Sudan. This should prove to be a useful tool in alerting American investors to the troubling nature of their potential investment, particularly in the energy sector.

Over the last several years, non-U.S. companies have raised money in the U.S. to develop Sudanese oil fields, located primarily in the south. Oil reserves have allowed Khartoum to double its military expenditures, giving it the means to prosecute its war more aggressively.

The second thing the bill does is it urges the administration to make available to the National Democratic Alliance \$10 million in previously appropriated funds. This funding should be used to help build the civil society that has been devastated in the south and which is essential to the region's long-term future.

The third aspect of the legislation is that it requires the administration to develop a contingency plan to operate its humanitarian relief efforts outside Operation Lifeline Sudan, and that is the United Nations sponsored humanitarian aid operation that has been shamelessly manipulated by the government of Sudan to advance its war aims, leading to widespread death by starvation and other causes. So what has in fact happened with Operation Lifeline Sudan, the government in Sudan has directed do not bring this relief into the south; we will direct you as to where you are allowed to take the food aid. So, again, this will develop a contingency plan to operate outside and around that Operation Lifeline Sudan.

The Subcommittee on Africa has held several hearings on Sudan over the last few years. This crisis has increasingly caught the attention of the American

people. The Sudan Peace Act is an effort to bring further attention to the suffering in Sudan and help along a resolution to this long-running conflict.

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

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of the Sudan Peace Act. I first would like to thank my colleague, the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDO), for introducing the measure. I want to express my special appreciation to my colleague and friend, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE), the ranking Democratic member of the Subcommittee on Africa, for his many years of tireless efforts to bring to the attention of the Congress and the American people the Sudanese crisis. I also want to commend my friends, the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE) and the gentleman from Illinois (Chairman HYDE), for moving this legislation forward and for their deep commitment to the issues.

Mr. Chairman, it appears unreal that at the beginning of the 21st century we again are talking about genocide and slavery, but it is genocide and slavery which characterizes the situation in the Sudan. This is a long-standing crisis. It originated in the early 1950s, and it became particularly severe since the mid-1980s.

The Islamic government of Sudan is perpetrating genocide on its own people. This crisis represents the most comprehensive attack against Christians any place on the face of this planet today; mass rapes, large scale forced starvation, kidnapping, and, as has been stated time and time again in this debate, we have over 2 million innocent men, women, and children who have been killed in this process, over 4 million internally displaced.

This legislation, which I hope will get the unanimous support of this body, calls for our Secretary of State to collect evidence on war crimes and crimes against humanity. It is inconceivable that the perpetrators of these gigantic scale atrocities should escape appropriate punishment.

A special word needs to be said, Mr. Chairman, about the oil companies that play a significant role in this nightmare. I am pleased to say that there are no American oil companies involved, but it pains me to no end to indicate that an oil company from Sweden, an oil company from Canada, and, much less surprisingly, oil companies owned by Malaysia and Communist China, are providing the funds to this outrageous government to pursue and perpetrate its atrocities.

We will bring the light of day on the activities of these companies, and we will make it very clear for any potential American investors what the nature of their investments would be buying in atrocities in the Sudan.

I truly believe that Congress acts never more nobly than when it rises to deal with human rights abuses anywhere on this planet. The Sudan Peace Act is one such example, and I strongly urge all of my colleagues to support this legislation.

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

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH), the vice chairman of the Committee on International Relations.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I thank my good friend, the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE), the chairman of the African subcommittee, for yielding and commend him for his outstanding leadership on behalf of the suffering individuals, not just in Sudan, but in other countries, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, who have been victimized by human rights abuse.

I want to especially thank on this bill, my good friend, the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDO), and all of the bipartisan sponsors of this Sudanese Peace Act. It is clearly a step in the right direction. It is an outstanding bill. It tries to advance the ball so that there will be peace.

We have lost 2 million Sudanese people, many of them women and children who have been slaughtered. Food has been used as a weapon in Sudan by the Khartoum government. We know that with Operation Lifeline, very often efforts to feed those in the south have been vetoed by Khartoum because they wanted to deny access to food and medicines.

Back in 1996, Mr. Chairman, we had a series of hearings on what really was happening in Sudan, the first hearing of its kind on slavery. At that point, people objected and said what are you talking about? Shadow slavery, the buying and selling of people, not unlike what we had in the United States and in other western countries before the civil war. A horrific practice. Yet it was going on in modern day Sudan. Thankfully, there is an effort. At least there is exposure now. People understand that this has occurred.

The gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE) mentioned this forced religious conversion. I have met people who have lost their children through forced Islamization, where their young men, their young boys, have been literally abducted out of their homes and brought to these camps where they are brainwashed, for want of a better word, day in and day out, to accept Islam. That is not what conversion is all about.

But this civil war is being financed, and it is not a civil war, it is a slaughter, increasingly by oil monies. I just bring to the attention of members that the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. BACHUS) will be offering an amendment

at the appropriate time that will deny the access of those companies to the capital markets of the United States, like Talisman.

Talisman is an oil company that, unfortunately, like some of the others coming out of China and elsewhere, that are building up the capability of the Sudanese government to get real dollars, hard currency, which is now funding this slaughter of women and children and men. They have doubled their military spending. For example, since 1998 much of the oil revenues have amounted to about \$500 million, and that is going to grow as a direct result of their ability to get cash at the New York Stock Exchange and elsewhere to fund this slaughter of innocent people.

This war might have been over; it certainly would have been much reduced, had it not been for oil money. If we really want to be peacemakers, it seems to me we need to deny the access, turning off that spigot to the best of our ability to deny the killers, the murderers, the rapists, the ability to do business as usual.

Again I want to thank the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE), the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDO), the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), who has done great work on this, and the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE). Of course, the Bachus amendment, which will be coming up shortly, is deserving of my colleagues' support.

Mr. Chairman, I thank my good friend, the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE), the chairman of the African subcommittee, for yielding and commend him for his outstanding leadership on behalf of the suffering individuals, not just in Sudan, but in other countries, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, who have been victimized by human rights abuse. I want to thank Chairman HYDE for his leadership in pushing this legislation.

And I want to especially thank my good friend, the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDO) the prime sponsor of the bill and all of the bipartisan sponsors of the pending Sudanese Peace Act. It is clearly a step in the right direction. It is an outstanding bill. It tries to advance the ball so that there will be peace.

We have lost 2 million Sudanese people, many of them women and children who have been slaughtered. Food has been used as a weapon in Sudan by the Khartoum government. We know that Operation Lifeline has often been stymied in efforts to feed those in the south. Amazingly the dictatorship has veto power over both where and whom humanitarian relief and food disbursements can be made. Khartoum is guilty of denying access to food and medicines by untold numbers of starving and emaciated people.

Back in 1996, Mr. Chairman, I chaired a series of hearings on Sudan. We convened the first hearing of its kind on slavery in Sudan. At that point, some people objected, were in disbelief and denial and said what are you talking about? Chattel slavery—the buying and selling

and ownership of people, not unlike what we had in the United States and in other western countries before the civil war was—is—thriving in Sudan.

The gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE) mentioned forced religious conversion and at hearings I chaired we heard from victims of the egregious practice. I have met mothers who have lost their children through forced Islamization, where their young children were literally abducted out of their homes and brought to camps where they were brainwashed. That is not what conversion is all about. Now we know that the Sudanese genocide is being financed by oil—petrol dollars. I just bring to the attention of members that the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. BACHUS) will be offering an amendment at the appropriate time that will deny the access of oil companies to our capital markets of the United States, if they are doing business in Sudan.

Talisman of Canada is an oil company that, unfortunately, like some of the others based in China are building up the capability of the Sudanese government to get boatloads of money, hard currency, which is now funding the slaughter of women and children and men. As a direct result of oil revenue, Sudan has doubled its military spending. Since 1998 the oil revenues per year have amounted to about \$500 million, and that is going to grow as a direct result of Sudan's oil revenue and its ability to procure funds from U.S. equity sources.

Had it not been for oil revenues, the Sudanese genocide might have been over. It almost certainly would have been less lethal had it not been for oil money. If we really want to be peacemakers, it seems to me we need to deny Sudanese access to cash. We must turn off that spigot. We must deny the killers, the murderers, the rapists, the ability to conduct the business of genocide.

Again I want to thank the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE), the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDO). The Chairman of the Full Committee, Mr. HYDE, always a champion of human rights and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), who has also done great work on this vital cause.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Chairman, I am delighted to yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE), one of our colleagues who has devoted years of his life to this issue and who has been a nationally recognized leader on the subject of Sudan.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for that very kind introduction. I appreciate the support that the gentleman has given this issue.

Mr. Chairman, I rise today in support of the Sudan Peace Act, H.R. 2052. I certainly would like to thank my colleague, the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDO), for introducing this legislation. He has traveled, as I mentioned, to Sudan with me a year or so ago, with Senator BROWBACK, and saw firsthand the conditions and has been a strong advocate for change there.

As you know, it is a very sad situation in Sudan, and we have many people, the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF) and the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE) and the chairman,

the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE). We have on our side, the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia (Ms. NORTON) and others who have fought.

But we also have people outside the anti-slavery organization, Charles Jacobs and Mrs. Nina Shay and others. But I also would like to commend the NAACP that at its last several conventions talked about this problem of slavery and has opposed the government of Sudan, and for the talk show host, Joe Madison, who has really given his listening audience an opportunity to hear about the Sudan and has gotten a great new constituency, and Reverend Fauntroy here in Washington, Reverend Jessie Jackson, who intends to go to Sudan soon, and Reverend Al Sharpton, who has been there.

□ 1330

We have seen more people become involved.

But this issue is not a simple issue of north versus the south. There are many very good Northerners who want to see the end of this war, also. We have many people in the Muslim faith who do not support the National Islamic Front government. The fact is that it is a bad government. They are really perpetrating misery on their people, and it is a strong, small group of people who have just been holding power against people of good will.

So the bombings continue, and aerial bombings were reintroduced just last week. The government made an official statement that they were going to end aerial bombings 2 weeks ago, and last week said they have rescinded that and they are starting bombing again.

They take these Antonovs, these Soviet-built planes, and it disrupts the community because the community hear the planes and they keep wondering, when are the planes coming, therefore making it difficult to have a normal life. The planes on occasions hit churches and schools and hospitals.

Another thing that is happening is many of the educated south Sudanese, many are lacking education now. The schools are not adequate. Therefore, the people of the south are losing out on education.

This is a horrible, horrible situation, beginning back in 1956 when it was the first African country to receive its independence; a proud country, a country that fought victoriously against Egypt and the British to retain its independence.

The people there are good people, but they are being treated horribly by a terrible government. Slavery still goes on. People are still being starved as a weapon. We need to have a strong reassertion that this government must be changed.

We must ask the Bush administration and Secretary Powell, who has spoken out against this, and he has

spoken out about Sudan more than any other area in Africa, we want him to continue to push. We want to see capital market access cut off from foreign countries trying to get funds from our capital markets to continue to use this blood money.

We would like to see the end to slavery, and youngsters like Ms. Vogel's class out in Colorado who raise funds and send them over with church groups to repatriate slaves with their families.

So we have a lot of work to do. We have heard the statistics: close to 2 million dead, and as a result, there have been over 4.3 million people displaced. We need to have a strong envoy to go there and to tell the Khartoum government that time has run out. We no longer will allow this to go on. It has gone on too long.

There is no reason in this new millennium, when we have supersonic transports and people going to outer space and living in outer space, that we would have on Earth a country that uses weapons of war against its own people, primarily women and children.

We must have a movement in this country to focus on Sudan. We must make this a number one priority. I would urge my colleagues to vote in favor of this peace act.

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. PAUL), a member of the Committee on International Relations.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to this bill, although I do not contest for 1 minute the sincerity and the good intentions of the many, many cosponsors. I do not question the problems that exist in Sudan. There is no doubt that it is probably one of the most horrible tales in human history.

But I do question a few things. First, I question whether this is a proper function for our government. I raised this question in the committee, suggesting that it could not be for national security reasons, and it more or less was conceded this has nothing to do with national security but it had to do with America's soul. I was fascinated that we are in the business of saving souls these days.

But I do have serious concerns about its effectiveness, because we have a history of having done these kinds of programs many times in the past, and even in Africa. It was not too many years ago that we were in Somalia and we lost men. Our soldiers were dragged in the streets. It was called nation-building. This is, in a way, very much nation-building, because we support one faction over the thugs that are in charge.

I certainly have all the sympathy and empathy for those individuals who are being abused, but the real question is whether or not this will work. It did not work in Somalia. We sent troops into Haiti. Haiti is not better off. How many men did we lose in Vietnam in an

effort to make sure the people we want in power were in power?

So often these well-intended programs just do not work and frequently do the opposite by our aid ending up in the hands of the supposed enemy. I seriously question whether this one will, either. Maybe in a year or 2 from now we will realize that this is an effort that did not produce the results that we wanted. It is a \$10 million appropriation, small for what we do around here, but we also know that this is only the beginning, and there will be many more tens of millions of dollars that will be sent in hopes that we will satisfy this problem.

Members can look for more problems to solve, because right now there are 800,000 children serving in the military in 41 countries of the world. That is another big job we would have to take upon ourselves to solve considering our justification to be involved in Sudan.

Mr. Chairman, with HR 2052, the Sudan Peace Act, we embark upon another episode of interventionism, in continuing our illegitimate and ill-advised mission to "police" the world. It seemingly matters little to this body that it proceeds neither with any constitutional authority nor with the blessings of such historical figures such as Jefferson who, in his first inaugural address, argued for "Peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations—entangling alliances with none." Unfortunately, this is not the only bit of history which seemingly is lost on this Congress.

Apparently, it is also lost on this Congress that the Constitution was a grant of limited power to the federal government from the citizens or, in other words, the Constitution was not designed to allow the government to restrain the people, but to allow the people to restrain the government. Of course, the customary lip service is given to the Constitution insofar as the committee report for this bill follows the rule of citing Constitutional authority and cites Art. I, Section 8, which is where one might look to find a specific enumerated power. However, the report cites only Clause 18 which begs some further citation. While Clause 18 contains the "necessary and proper" clause, it limits Congress to enacting laws "necessary and proper" to some more specifically (i.e., foregoing) enumerated power. Naturally, no such "foregoing" authority is cited by the advocates of this bill.

Without Constitutional authority, this bill goes on to encourage the spending of \$10 million of U.S. taxpayers hard-earned money in Sudan but for what purpose? From the text of the bill, we learn that "The United States should use all means of pressure available to facilitate a comprehensive solution to the war in Sudan, including (A) the multilateralization of economic and diplomatic tools to compel the Government of Sudan to enter into a good faith peace process; [note that it says "compel . . . good faith peace"] and (B) the support or creation of viable democratic civil authority and institutions in areas of Sudan outside of government control." I believe we used to call that nation-building before that term became impolitic. How self-righteous a government is ours which legally prohibits foreign campaign

contributions yet assumes it knows best and, hence, supports dissident and insurgent groups in places like Cuba, Sudan and around the world. The practical problem here is that we have funded dissidents in such places as Somalia who ultimately turned out to be worse than the incumbent governments. Small wonder the U.S. is the prime target of citizen-terrorists from countries with no real ability to retaliate militarily for our illegitimate and immoral interventions.

The legislative "tools" to be used to "facilitate" this aforementioned "comprehensive solution" are as frightening as the nation-building tactics. For example, "It is the sense of the Congress that . . . the United Nations should be used as a tool to facilitate peace and recovery in Sudan."

One can only assume this is the same United Nations which booted the United States off its Human Rights Commission in favor of, as Canadian Sen. Jeremiah S. Grafstein, called them recently, "those exemplars of human rights nations . . . Algeria, China, Saudi Arabia, Uganda, Armenia, Pakistan, Syria and Vietnam."

The bill does not stop there, however, in intervening in the civil war in Sudan. It appears that this Congress has found a new mission for the Securities and Exchange Commission who are now tasked with investigating "the nature and extent of . . . commercial activity in Sudan" as it relates to "any violations of religious freedom and human rights in Sudan." It seems we have finally found a way to spend those excessive fees the SEC has been collecting from mutual fund investors despite the fact we cannot seem to bring to the floor a bill to actually reduce those fees which have been collected in multiples above what is necessary to fund this agencies' previous (and again unconstitutional) mission.

There is more, however. Buried deep within the bill in Section 9 we find what may be the real motivation for the intervention—Oil. It seems the bill also tasks the Secretary of State with generating a report detailing "a description of the sources and current status of Sudan's financing and construction of infrastructure and pipelines for oil exploitation, the effects of such financing and construction on the inhabitants of the regions in which the oil fields are located." Talk about corporate welfare and the ability to socialize the costs of foreign competitive market research on the U.S. taxpayer!

Yes, Mr. Chairman, this bill truly has it all—an unconstitutional purpose, the morally bankrupt intervention in dealings between the affairs of foreign governments and their respective citizens in our attempt to police the world, more involvement by a United Nations proven inept at resolving civil conflicts abroad, the expansion of the SEC into State Department functions and a little corporate welfare for big oil, to boot. How can one not support these legislative efforts?

Mr. Chairman, I oppose this bill for each of the above-mentioned reasons and leave to the ingenuity, generosity, and conscience of each individual in this country to make their own private decision as to how best render help to citizens of Sudan and all countries where human rights violations run rampant.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Chairman, I am very pleased to yield 5 minutes to my

good friend and colleague, the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia (Ms. NORTON).

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Chairman, I very much appreciate the gentleman yielding time to me, and I am grateful to him and to the sponsor of the bill, the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDO).

I thank the ranking member, and I must know the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) as a one-man watchdog for human rights in the world, for which this body and our country are both grateful.

Mr. Chairman, here we have in this bill the first forward movement to do more than condemn. The unspeakable litany of violations in Sudan leave out none. I do not, therefore, want to go down them.

I do want to take issue with the last speaker. I am not sure about our national security, but I do believe that doing something about Khartoum is vital to the strategic U.S. interests in the world. Oil is the engine that is driving the war in the north against the southern Sudanese. They are winning the war. This war is almost over, if we do not do something about it. The southern Sudanese have been so weakened that time is running out.

In Khartoum, we see a regime that will soon be a mid-sized oil exporter at a time when the U.S. and the world have escalated oil needs. It is very important to build on the Clinton sanctions that have been in place since 1997.

I support the amendment, but minimally it seems to me we have to begin to focus, to scrutinize access to our markets. One way to do that is if we say that if they want access to our markets, tell us about their business operations in Sudan. If they want to get access, at least tell us. If we can deny them access constitutionally and legally, I would be for that.

Investors need to be forewarned that indeed we are trying to have significant impact on investments, and since we have reached our own folks, we ought to reach the multinationals, if for no other reason than to level the playing field.

Let me speak to another strategic interest. When is terrorism in the world not a strategic interest of the United States of America? Here we have a major supporter and exporter of international terrorism in Sudan, and we have felt Sudan in our own country. The region has felt Sudan in multiple ways. Ask the President of Egypt, Mr. Mubarak, whose life was attempted on from the exporting of terrorism from this regime. We have very important strategic interests.

In fact, the last time the world gathered in this way, the last time we confronted a nation and tried to get worldwide support, was of course the sanctions against South Africa, which significantly weakened apartheid. Mr.

Chairman, what is happening in Sudan is far more complicated, and if I may say so, far worse than the despotism we saw in South Africa.

When the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE) and I came to the floor just over a year ago, we were the only two on a special order trying to kind of wake up the consciousness not so much of this body, which had already passed a resolution of condemnation, but hoping that the world out there was looking at us somehow.

I want to simply praise the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE) for pioneering leadership when absolutely nobody was listening. Since then, since that special order, there have been hearings, press conferences involving the leadership on both sides of the aisle. There have been Sudanese, southern Sudanese ex-slaves who had come to the House of Representatives. We are getting somewhere if we take the leadership for which our Nation is known in the world.

Therefore, we must minimally pass this bill and go on to pass the amendment, if we possibly can. Let us make this start now. Let us signify by this bill that we have only begun to fight for southern Sudanese freedom.

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDO), who authored this legislation and who, along with the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE), wrote the Sudan Peace Act.

Mr. TANCREDO. Mr. Chairman, I want to thank the gentleman for yielding time to me. I thank the committee chairman for bringing this bill forward. I thank the leadership for allowing this bill to come forward. I also want to thank the thousands and thousands of people that have communicated with Members of this body from all across this land in support of this piece of legislation.

It is amazing to me, as the gentlewoman just said a minute ago, how things have changed in such a short period of time; how hard it was a few years ago, and I know how hard it must have been for the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE) years before that, because of course he was involved with this before any of us were. But I know how hard it was just a short 2½ years ago to get anybody to pay the slightest bit of attention to the issues in Sudan.

It is undeniably true what many of my colleagues have said, that the problems there are incredibly difficult problems to deal with; very intricate, very interwoven, and many-many-faceted. It is not a simple solution by any stretch of the imagination, nor do I believe in all honesty, Mr. Chairman, that if we were to pass this bill today, which I certainly hope we do, that peace will break out tomorrow in Sudan.

What this bill is is simply another arrow in the quiver; our accumulation

of power, if you will, resources, leverages, whatever we want to call it, to bring to bear in this country to force peace to occur. That is really what we have to do.

Many colleagues have come to me, not just colleagues here on the floor but certainly people in my own district, and asked the question, why now? What is the deal? What is the issue with Sudan? Why are we concerned about Sudan? Frankly, I do not have an awful lot of constituents who have Sudan on the top of their plate, so I do get questions about this.

I first of all try to explain the effect of going over there and the effect that trip had on me. When the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE) and Senator BROWNBACK and I landed in a little town called Yei and walked through this village, we had literally hundreds of people surrounding us and trying to get closer and closer to us because they thought, they hoped, they prayed, that if they stayed close enough to us, close to these American Congressmen who were there, that somehow perhaps the bombs would not fall on them, that the Antonovs would not come and bomb them at the time.

Of course, the look in their eyes, this look of desperation, of course that affected me, absolutely. I am a human being. My heart went out to them. I said then at that time to myself and to them, "I will do everything I can. I will do what I can."

This bill is I guess the end result. It will not be the end result, but it is a result of that promise I made. But beyond that, Mr. Chairman, when people ask, why Sudan, why now, I only refer them to the comment made to General Colin Powell. Secretary Powell, when I did ask him in the Committee on International Relations what the administration was prepared to do to bring peace to this troubled land, he responded that he did not have a plan at his disposal, since he had only been in his position a relatively short time.

□ 1345

He said, and I quote, I believe there to be no greater human tragedy being played out on the face of the Earth.

What more do we need to answer the question, why Sudan? Why now? The greatest human tragedy being played out on the face of the Earth.

There are many issues with which we can become involved in Sudan in a more technical way than even this bill lays out. I hope and I pray that, in fact, we can encourage the leadership in both the north and the south to earnestly begin discussions leading to peace, because I fear in my heart of hearts that the people, I know the people of Sudan both north and south want peace.

Mr. Chairman, I am not sure that the leadership in the north or the south want peace, because, in fact, you know,

a war that has gone on this long establishes the status quo and in it people begin to achieve positions of power.

It is difficult to conceive a world in which war is not going on and, therefore, the power they wield is not able to be wielded. So we must be fearful of this reticence on the part of both the north and the south to move toward peace.

We must force that. We must force that movement, and we can do so with this bill and with the appointment of a special envoy, which I believe is in the offering.

I sincerely hope that my colleagues will support this piece of legislation as just one more step in the road to peace, so we can all answer our constituents and others when they say to us, why Sudan, why now. Just tell me if not now, when? How many more dead before you act?

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, I have no additional speakers, but I would like to say a few words before we close debate on this issue. I was profoundly disturbed by my colleague's remark who asked why do we deal with this issue? Well, we deal with this issue because, as so many other issues in this century, it is a fundamental issue of human rights.

I predict that the issue of human rights will be the dominant issue of the 21st century. Not long ago, we were dealing with hundreds of thousands of innocent civilians being pushed out of their ancestral homes in Kosovo, and there were people on the floor of this body who questioned the relevance of our involvement in trying to see to it that these people, little children, old women, young families, were just pushed out of their home, because of their ethnicity and because of their religion.

In that case, it was Muslims who were persecuted by Milosevic and his thugs. In this instance, it is principally Christians who are being persecuted, harassed, raped, killed on a large scale by fundamental lifts Muslims.

I cannot think of a more noble cause for the Congress of the United States than to debate these issues and perhaps to try to help in whatever way we can. Now, there are some who are particularly preoccupied with the minutiae and the complexities of our tax legislation. And that is an appropriate subject for us to discuss. But to question on the floor of the House of Representatives the appropriateness of dealing with a genocide, a genocide means the killing of whole peoples.

We are talking about the killing of 2 million black citizens of the Sudan, men, women and children, whose sole crime is that they are not Muslims. We are dealing with the displacement of 4 million black citizens of Sudan who are pushed out of their villages and are in many instances on the verge of starvation.

To ask whether it is appropriate for the Congress of the United States to deal with these issues boggles the mind. I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that this is an issue of very high priority for this body.

It would be high priority only if it would be a human rights issue, but as the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia (Ms. NORTON) so correctly pointed out, the Sudanese government is one of the prime sponsors of international terrorism.

Is there anybody in this body who does not feel, in the wake of the bombing of American embassies, that international terrorism is not a concern of this body? I want to again commend the people who have played a key role in this measure. I want to encourage all my colleagues to vote for this legislation.

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

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN), chairman of the Subcommittee on Middle East and South Asia.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I want to thank the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE) for yielding the time to me.

Mr. Chairman, I want to commend the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE), the chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa; the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDO); and the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE) for their leadership; and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), the ranking member of the Committee on International Relations, for his poignant expressions in regard to this bill and for their persistent attention and energy, for bringing the deplorable situation in Sudan to our attention.

This bill makes funds available for humanitarian assistance to the Sudanese people, to facilitate our State Department and U.N. efforts to help the Sudanese government and opposition forces in reaching a settlement and in sanctioning belligerents who continue to engage in crimes against humanity.

The civil war in the Sudan continues to be a slow-motion genocide. Southern Sudanese are dying each and every day, while hundreds of thousands are at risk from famine and malnutrition.

There are no winners in the Sudan, north or south. If a young man from Sudan wishes to be admitted to a university, he must first join the army. And in the army, he has a good chance of being killed in an immoral, pointless war. And even if the young man survives, he may have to live with memories of atrocities that he has seen or in some cases even been involved in. Either way, this war in the Sudan is a cancer that is destroying the once vibrant culture of Arab Sudan at the same time that it wreaks havoc in the African south.

Accordingly, I urge our colleagues to support this measure. I want to commend Secretary Powell for his recent trip to Africa and for his intention to devote considerable more attention to the Sudan.

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. CANTOR), a member of the Committee on International Relations.

Mr. CANTOR. Mr. Chairman, I would like to again to salute the chairman of the Committee on International Relations (Mr. ROYCE) and the subcommittees, as well as the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDO) and the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE) and, of course, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), the ranking member of the Committee on International Relations, for the fine work they have done in bringing this measure to the floor.

Mr. Chairman, I rise today also in support of the Sudan Peace Act. Sudan has been ravaged by civil war for over 30 years. And an estimated 2 million people have died; and as has been said before, millions more displaced due to war-related causes.

As my colleague, the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDO), has said, there is no greater human tragedy being played out on the Earth today, and thus we turn our attention to Sudan. As if this is not bad enough, as if the famine, the slavery, and the death is not bad enough, there is a particularly troubling situation in the evidence of religious persecution that prevails in Sudan today.

Unfortunately, we know all too well the results of religious persecution just looking back to last century with Nazi Germany. The Sudanese government policies promote Islam as the state religion and make non-Muslims unwelcome.

According to a State Department report on International Religious Freedom for 2000, the status of respect for religious freedom has not changed fundamentally in recent years, and particularly in the South, the government continues to enforce numerous restrictions.

Authorities continue to restrict the activities of Christians, followers of traditional indigenous beliefs and other non-Muslims. Though the government says it respects all religions, the 1994 Societies Registration Act gives churches more freedom, Islam influences all laws and policies.

According to the State Department, the Government of Sudan denies permission to build churches, and there have been claims of harassment and arrest of citizens because of their religious beliefs and practices.

The law prevents the building of new churches or proselytizing by non-Muslims. Missionaries claim to be harassed continually and prevented from doing the work. The atrocities in Sudan cannot and should not be tolerated.

The individual freedoms familiar to us in America embodied in the Jeffersonian principles of religious freedom and individual dignity must be restored to the Sudanese people.

Mr. Chairman, I urge my colleagues to join me in voting for the Sudan Peace Act.

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ARMEY), the majority leader.

Mr. ARMEY. Mr. Chairman, let me begin by thanking the committee for bringing this bill to the floor; thanking my colleagues that have risen to speak on this bill today.

Mr. Chairman, we are a great Nation. We are a Nation of people that have led the world in compassion and concern. We are a Nation of people that have always raised our voice for freedom, fair and decent treatment, safety and security for all the nations and all the people's of the world.

It comes as no surprise to anybody in this Chamber to be reminded of the times when we raised our voice on behalf of the people that were victimized in Bosnia, Kosovo, Rwanda, and Somalia, but the over 2 million people in Sudan who have been slaughtered represents more victims than all of those nations combined.

The horror, the torture, the terror, and the slavery is unspeakable. We are counseled too many times to not speak about them.

How do we draw a picture of this violence and its scope and its breadth? How do we tell a world that it must not tolerate the horrible petrifying insanity of it all?

I have selected one story of one victim. Mr. Chairman, this story is going to break your heart; but the story is true. It is true in the lives of millions of people in Sudan. It will illustrate to you why we must demand, intercede, and prevent this from continuing.

The young woman saw her baby's throat slit by an intruder. She then saw the baby's head severed completely from its body. After she was raped, she was forced to carry the baby's head on a march north and was eventually ordered to throw her child's head into a fire before she was forced into slavery.

□ 1400

She eventually escaped that bondage and found a way to freedom and safety. But can one know, can one imagine the horror of the memories, the fear in her heart for others that she left behind that she loved so much who she must know are going through these same experiences.

This cannot be tolerated. No nation on this Earth can fail to raise its voice. We must raise our voice today, and we do. Mr. Chairman, I am going to predict that every person in this Chamber today is going to cast a vote that is going to be a vote on behalf of these

families, these babies, these mothers, and these people.

I pray, Mr. Chairman, with all my heart that we need never again be required to revisit this issue on behalf of these poor souls.

Mr. WATTS of Oklahoma. Mr. Chairman, I would first like to thank Chairmen HENRY HYDE and ED ROYCE, Congressmen TOM TANCREDO, TONY HALL and all of my colleagues on both sides of the aisle who have fought so hard to bring national and international attention to the heinous, on-going crisis in the Sudan.

Mr. Chairman, I rise today in strong support of H.R. 2052, the Sudan Peace Act. In America, our problems pale in significance to the war, slavery and famine in the largest country in Africa. Two million men, women and children have died in a war that has no end in sight. Millions more are displaced from their homes, often hungry and poor—searching for new homes and not knowing where their next meal will come from. They are refugees within their own country and surrounding nations. They cry for help. They beg for mercy. They look for any aid anyone can offer.

Secretary of State Colin Powell testified to Congress this past March, saying the Sudan is "the greatest tragedy on the face of the earth."

Can any one of us here in this chamber picture himself captured and forced into slavery, traded for pennies or food? We are so blessed in this great land of ours—it is impossible to envision ourselves as captive slaves. But slavery is a way of life for people in southern Sudan who must live every day in fear of government-sanctioned raiding parties.

Abraham Lincoln once said: "Whenever I hear anyone arguing for slavery, I feel a strong impulse to see it tried on him personally." President Lincoln knew the evils of slavery in America, and the hypocrisy connected with those who would argue in its favor. But the end of slavery within our borders has not transcended to the Sudan—where slavery plagues society.

The National Islamic Front government's unrelenting efforts to oppress and even eliminate the predominantly black, Christian and southern Sudanese people must be stopped. They have consistently interfered with the delivery of food and medicine into southern Sudan. Government troops have repeatedly bombed international relief sites, schools and other civilian areas in an attempt to disrupt distribution of desperately-needed humanitarian supplies. This is unconscionable. The Sudan Peace Act before us today encourages the development of alternative means to get food and medicine to the people of these regions. It also requires business disclosures so investors will be informed of exactly who and what they are supporting.

My colleagues, we must work to ensure that every effort is made to get humanitarian aid to an oppressed and starving populace. The peace process must be encouraged. Slavery must be condemned in no uncertain terms. The Sudan Peace Act does all of this—and more. I urge passage of this bill to help the men, women and children in the Sudan who cry unceasingly, day by day, for help.

Mr. HASTINGS of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I rise today in tremendous support of H.R.

2052, The Sudan Peace Act. This bill will decrease the suffering in which the terrible atrocities are inflicting on the people of The Sudan.

The Sudan Peace Act declares that Congress denounces any human right violations by all sides of the conflict in Sudan (including the Government of Sudan). It directs the U.S. representative to the United Nations to seek to end the veto power of the Sudanese government over the relief programs to Sudanese civilians. Further, it revises Operation Lifeline Sudan (OLS); provide additional support for internationally sanctioned peace process written by the secretary of state to support the peace process, and condemns the bombing of innocent civilian targets.

Mr. Chairman, this legislation requires all businesses that operate in Sudan and trade securities in the U.S. to file disclosure forms with the Securities and Exchange Commission. Thus if these businesses fail to file disclosure forms, the Securities and Exchange Commission will prohibit them from trading securities in U.S. markets. In addition, the State Department, is required within six months of enactment, to report to Congress on income generated by the development of Sudan's oil-producing sector. Finally, the act urges the use of \$10 million provided in the FY 2001 Foreign Operations Appropriations Act.

The civil war in Sudan has raged for nearly twenty years, mainly between the National Islamic Front government in the north and Christians and animist rebels in the south, killing more than two million Sudanese directly or through malnutrition and starvation.

In particular, by regularly outlawing relief flights of the United Nations' Operation Lifeline Sudan, the Sudanese government has manipulated the receipt of food and use starvation as a weapon of war. The government also has been accused of supporting raiding and enslaving parties to disrupt areas of the country outside its direct control. As a result, millions have been rendered homeless thereby creating one of the world's largest refugee problems.

Mr. Chairman, I therefore strongly encourage my colleagues to support H.R. 2052, the Sudan Peace Act. With thousands of Sudanese people suffering due to starvation, lack of malnutrition, enslavement, and wide scale bombing of civilian targets, it is my sincere hope that through legislation we will establish peace in The Sudan.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Chairman, I rise today to speak out against the horrible atrocities taking place daily in the Sudan as a result of the eighteen-year civil war and in support of H.R. 2052, the Sudan Peace Act. I would like to commend my colleague, Mr. TANCREDO, and others for introducing this very important legislation.

Under the Sudan Peace Act, Congress condemns violations of human rights abuses on all sides of the conflict in Sudan, and calls on the President to make funds available for humanitarian assistance. This legislation expresses the sense of Congress that the United Nations should be used as a tool to facilitate peace and recovery in Sudan. It calls for an investigation into the practice of slavery, condemns the aerial bombardment of civilians, and prohibits business entities engaged in commercial activities in Sudan from trading

their securities in U.S. capital markets unless they make public disclosure of their activities in Sudan.

It is time for the United States to take a strong stand against this egregious situation in the Sudan and work together with the international community to bring peace to the region. Slavery, aerial bombardment of civilians, and other human rights abuses victimize the people of Sudan. I believe that the United States must use diplomatic means to bring an end to the civil war and these serious human rights abuses.

Since the current conflict erupted in 1983, Sudan has been at war intermittently from the time its independence was obtained in 1956. An estimated 2.2 million people have died as a result of war-related causes, such as, oil production and religious persecution. More than 4 million people, mostly southern Sudanese, have been displaced from their homes.

I commend President Bush on his appointment of Andrew Natsios, as special humanitarian coordinator for Sudan to facilitate U.S. assistance. But I again urge the President to appoint a Special Envoy to Sudan, who will be afforded the independence necessary to do the required job of facilitating the peace process. Mr. Natsios' appointment demonstrates that the United States is taking a leadership role in resolving the situation in the Sudan, however we as a nation must continue our efforts to bring an end to the atrocities in the Sudan.

Also, I applaud Secretary of State Powell for recognizing the tragedy that is underway in Sudan and for ordering a review of Administration policy. To begin with, the U.S. should use every means at its disposal to bring the military hostilities to an immediate end.

At the same time, we should apply every bit of moral persuasion and condemn in the loudest possible voice the unspeakable violations of human rights being perpetrated against the weakest members of that society.

No one has done more to express the outrage of Americans or worked harder to end the suffering in the Sudan than my dear friend Joe Madison who has worked endlessly to end the pain and suffering of slavery in Sudan. Joe along with others has diligently worked to inform the American public about the human rights abuses taking place in Sudan. He has traveled to the Sudan region many times on slave redemption missions freeing slaves and working to end slavery. Mr. Madison is truly a freedom fighter and I commend him on his efforts.

In the Sudan the world is faced with a human rights nightmare of the first order. We have the opportunity, indeed the responsibility, to use our international leadership to bring peace to the region by ending both the civil war and the heartbreaking enslavement of women and children which has intensified as a result of the hostilities.

As a nation with first-hand knowledge of the savagery of slavery, of the misery to its victims, and the suffering of future generations, we must recoil in horror at the practice of slavery in Sudan. Our ultimate goal must be to work with the international community to end the brutal civil war, which is the root cause of these atrocities and bring peace to the country of Sudan.

Mr. KNOLLENBERG. Mr. Chairman, I rise to offer support for H.R. 2052, the Sudan Peace Act, which will help facilitate solutions to the problems of famine and war in Sudan. First, let me say a special thanks to all the sponsors, especially TOM TANCREDO, and the Committee on International Relations as well as the Subcommittee on Africa, for their hard work and leadership in developing this bill. I would like to also commend House leadership for bringing this bill to the House floor.

The crisis in Sudan has resulted in two million casualties due to famine and the continuing war. The 18-year civil war in Sudan has fueled an on-going religious conflict between Muslims and Christians and has challenged our relations with Sudan due to its human rights violations and support of international terrorism. Despite this, I am hopeful this bill can help to address the problems and bring forth a peaceful resolution to the current situation. With that said, H.R. 2052 should be supported by the House and Senate chambers.

In fiscal year 2000, the United States provided a total of \$93.7 million in assistance to Sudan. These funds go to help create a civil administration, assist in conflict resolution and provide support for non-governmental organizations. Our financial assistance has eased the hardship for those in need of food assistance.

Congress should adopt this legislation so we can help Sudan and improve our relationship with them as well.

Again, I want to express my thanks to TOM TANCREDO, and the Committee on International Relations, and the Subcommittee on Africa for their dedication and effort on this bill, and I encourage my colleagues to vote in support of H.R. 2052.

Mr. TIAHRT. Mr. Chairman, I rise today in strong support for H.R. 2052, the Sudan Peace Act. The atrocities in the Sudan deserve immediate attention and aid from the United States. It is our duty as the "world's only superpower" to stand up for those who cannot stand up for themselves.

Many articles have been written in recent months regarding the growing support for U.S. intervention in the Sudan. What struck me most about these articles was their emphasis on how this cause has attracted broad support across political lines. As Newsweek noted:

The Muslim government's alleged persecution of southern Christians is the key issue for many of the rebels' fiercest U.S. supporters. For prominent African-Americans like Coretta Scott King, the hot button is Khartoum's toleration of slavery and the use of slave-raiding privateers as paramilitary forces in the war against the south. For other activists the overriding concern is the government's ethnic-cleansing campaign against southern peoples such as the Dinka. Late last year the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum joined the fight, declaring through its "committee on conscience" that Khartoum's atrocities against the southerners warranted an unprecedented "genocide warning."

It is not surprising that the fighting in Sudan has attracted attention from such divergent populations. All humans should be outraged by the 18 year war that has taken over 2 million lives and destroyed countless homes, crops, medical facilities, and churches. Equally

appalling is the Khartoum's refusal to allow humanitarian aid. They have even gone so far as to directly target international humanitarian relief agencies such as the Red Cross and Doctors Without Borders by aerial bombings.

Christians have been persecuted, thousands of non-Muslims have been forced into slavery, the destruction of crops has caused thousands more to starve. Additionally, the areas north and south of the oil development center have been the site of the most heinous crimes. In order to clear the region to facilitate oil production and thus bring in money for their government, the military annihilates whole villages. According to one report the Sudanese military first attacks a village with bombs to scatter villagers. Then troops and helicopter gunships enter—torching homes and food-stuffs and killing all they come across. It is not uncommon for the elderly and young to burn alive in their homes.

I am ashamed that our wonderful, caring nation has not taken a large role in stopping this barbarism. Apparently former Secretary of State Madeline Albright's reasoning was that the cause was "not marketable to the American people." Marketable or not, this does not excuse our relative indifference as a nation to our fellow men and women being tortured and slain in the Sudan. I am proud that today we are taking a stand—facilitating humanitarian aid, holding businesses accountable for their activities in the Sudan oil trade that funds the government's heinous behavior, and most importantly directing the State Department to take an active role in implementing peace in Sudan.

I am happy that so many of my colleagues and fellow Americans are in such strong support of this legislation, but even if they weren't it would still be the right thing to do. "Marketable" or not, the United States must work towards ending the atrocities in the Sudan.

Mr. FALEOMAVEGA. Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of the legislation before us, H.R. 2052, which, among other things, condemns the National Islamic Front Government of Sudan; calls for increased diplomatic peace efforts including the appointment of a Special Envoy; supports the famine relief efforts of Operation Lifeline Sudan; and requires foreign companies doing business in Sudan to publicly disclose their activities if they seek access to U.S. capital markets.

Mr. Chairman, I congratulate the distinguished gentleman from Colorado, Mr. TANCREDO, for introducing this important measure. I also wish to recognize the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey, Mr. PAYNE, the Ranking Democrat of the House International Relations Africa Subcommittee, for his longtime leadership and extensive work to bring peace to Sudan, as well as other nations in the region. I further commend the Chairman and the Ranking Democratic Member of the House International Relations Committee, Mr. HYDE and Mr. LANTOS, for bringing this matter to the floor. I am honored to join my colleagues in support of this bi-partisan legislation.

Mr. Chairman, we must do all that we can to stop the senseless tragedy in Sudan. Although the civil war has gone on for four decades, since 1983 the conflict has heightened and resulted in a humanitarian disaster. The

Government of Sudan is responsible and must be condemned in the strongest terms of committing genocide against its own people.

By aerial bombardment of civilians, mass slavery, rape, unspeakable war crimes and obstruction of humanitarian relief efforts—over two million Sudanese have died at the hands of the government in Khartoum. These atrocities have been compounded by the displacement of four million other Sudanese, who have been driven from their homes.

Mr. Chairman, last month Secretary of State Colin Powell visited Sudan, committing the United States to make peace in that nation a priority.

The legislation before us will significantly assist those efforts by holding the Government of Sudan accountable for its humanitarian violations and calling for their immediate end; urging U.S. leadership of multilateral and bilateral peace processes in Sudan; and encouraging disinvestment in foreign firms doing business in Sudan, particularly those oil companies whose activities are directly contributing to the escalation of war in Sudan.

Mr. Chairman, I strongly urge our colleagues to adopt this important legislation.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Chairman, three weeks ago, I received two conflicting messages regarding the situation in Sudan. One was a May 24 press release from the Sudanese embassy announcing, with great fanfare, that the Government of Sudan had taken “a unilateral step toward peace” by declaring an immediate halt to aerial bombing attacks in the south and the Nuba Mountains.

The other message, from Catholic clergy members, reported that the priests living in southern parts of the El Obeid Diocese had been driven into the bush by “ferocious assaults by Sudanese government forces.”

As additional reports filtered out of this remote area of the Nuba Mountains from a variety of sources, it became clear that the Government of Sudan had launched a massive ground and air attack while it was simultaneously issuing press releases about its commitment to peace.

Government forces burned more than 2,000 homes during this attack. They apparently hope to starve the local population, still at large, into concentration camps called, in the best Orwellian tradition, “Peace Villages.”

This contrast between word and deed underlines the importance of today’s consideration of the Sudan Peace Act. I am grateful to Mr. TANCREDO for introducing it, and also to Mr. ROYCE and Mr. PAYNE for their excellent leadership of the Africa Subcommittee. The Committee on International Relations ordered the bill favorably reported on June 6, 2001.

I would also like to call attention to the tireless work of the Catholic Bishops Conference, the Commission on International Religious Freedom, the NAACP, and countless individuals and organizations across the country that have given this matter the profile and attention it deserves.

The measure before us is more than symbolic. It will give the President the discretion he needs to reprogram and reallocate quickly any portion of humanitarian resources the United States currently gives to Operation Lifeline Sudan. Despite efforts to carry out its humanitarian mission without interference, Op-

eration Lifeline Sudan has frequently been manipulated by the government of Sudan. We should make no mistake: the denial of food is used as a weapon of war in Sudan. This provision suspends our government’s standard but often time-consuming notification procedures if the President deems it necessary to deliver life-saving assistance by other means.

In addition, this measure will shed light on those international companies doing business in Sudan as well as how that business may support the government’s war-fighting ability. This is not a sanction, but a beam of light directed at some of the hidden aspects of the global economy.

Given the nationwide, grassroots effort by Americans of all political parties and races to raise awareness about the suffering of the people of Sudan, it is only proper that investors should know whether a particular company is doing business in Sudan.

The Sudan Peace Act is important in what it does, but also in what it does not do. It does not in any way hinder the executive branch in its responsibility to conduct the foreign affairs of this nation.

In his first appearance before this Committee as Secretary of State, Secretary Powell stated that Sudan was a tragedy that would command his full attention. In characteristic fashion, the Secretary appears to be backing up what he said.

Against expectations from some in the media, Secretary Powell has taken an early trip to Africa and has focused to a considerable extent on the conflict in Sudan. He has indicated that the Administration will soon appoint an experienced and capable special envoy. He has been unequivocal in his remarks regarding the ongoing abuses in Sudan. He has committed \$3 million to improve the capabilities of the rebel alliance to hold its own at the bargaining table.

In short, we are beginning to see the attention we have urged. This measure supports and encourages those efforts without being unduly prescriptive to Administration officials, some of whom already know a thing or two about dealing with rogue nations.

I urge my colleagues to support this measure.

Mr. Chairman, I submit for the RECORD an exchange of letters between Chairman OXLEY and myself concerning the bill under consideration, H.R. 2052, the Sudan Peace Act.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON FINANCIAL SERVICES,
Washington, DC, June 6, 2001.

Hon. HENRY J. HYDE,
Chairman, Committee on International Relations, Washington, DC.

DEAR HENRY: I understand that the Committee on International Relations today ordered H.R. 2052, the Sudan Peace Act, reported to the House. As you know, the Committee on Financial Services was granted an additional referral upon the resolution’s introduction pursuant to the Committee’s jurisdiction over securities and exchanges under Rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives.

Because of the importance of this matter, I recognize your desire to bring this legislation before the House in an expeditious manner and will waive consideration of the resolution by the Financial Services Committee. By agreeing to waive its consideration of the

resolution, the Financial Services Committee does not waive its jurisdiction over H.R. 2052. In addition, the Committee on Financial Services reserves its authority to seek conferees on any provisions of the resolution that are within the Financial Services Committee’s jurisdiction during any House-Senate conference that may be convened on this legislation. I ask your commitment to support any request by the Committee on Financial Services for conferees on H.R. 2052 or related legislation.

I request that you include this letter and your response as part of the Congressional Record during consideration of the legislation on the House floor.

Thank you for your attention to these matters.

Sincerely,

MICHAEL G. OXLEY,
Chairman.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS,
Washington, DC, June 6, 2001.

Hon. MICHAEL OXLEY,
Chairman, Committee on Financial Services,
Washington, DC.

DEAR MIKE: I have received your letter concerning H.R. 2052, the Sudan Peace Act. It is our intention to take this bill to the floor in an expeditious manner. We understand that language in the bill, as ordered reported, falls within the Rule X jurisdiction of the Committee on Financial Services.

We recognize your jurisdiction over this subject matter, and appreciate your willingness to waive your right to consider this bill without waiving your jurisdiction over the general subject matter. I will support the Speaker’s naming members of your committee as conferees on the matter should it proceed to conference.

As you have requested, I will include this exchange of letters in the Record during consideration of the bill.

I appreciate your assistance in getting this important bill to the floor.

Sincerely,

HENRY J. HYDE,
Chairman.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Chairman, I rise today in strong support of the Sudan Peace Act (H.R. 2052). I would like to thank Congressman TANCREDO for introducing this important legislation and Representatives DONALD PAYNE, TOM LANTOS, and FRANK WOLF for their active roles in pushing Sudan to the top of the foreign policy agenda. It is important for Members of Congress, on both sides of the aisle, to speak out in a collective voice against the suffering of the people of Sudan.

Sudan’s civil war and the Sudanese Government’s genocidal policies have taken a terrible toll on the civilians of that country. The horror that afflicts Sudan is staggering: over 2 million people have been killed and another 5 million driven from their homes. The situation in Sudan is rapidly getting worse and must be seriously addressed before the scale of death and destruction increases. Clearly, there must be international pressure to promote a just and lasting peace to this tragic conflict.

Sudan has one of the worst human rights records in the world. According to the U.S. State Department, the Government of Sudan continues to abuse human rights including the bombing of civilian and humanitarian targets, abduction and enslavement by government-sponsored militias, and manipulation of humanitarian assistance as a weapon of war.

The Sudan Peace Act offers the beginning of a framework for a solution to ending the crisis. The bill requires all businesses trading securities in the United States capital markets and operations in Sudan to disclose fully the extent and nature of their operations, particularly oil operations, which are fueling the constant attacks against the southern Sudanese. The legislation also strongly condemns the human rights abuses committed by the Government of Sudan, continues support for humanitarian assistance distribution through Operation Lifeline Sudan, and urges the President to use \$10 million appropriated last year to assist the Sudanese opposition, the National Democratic Alliance (NDA).

I am encouraged by the Bush administration's recent statements that it will soon appoint a high-profile Special Envoy to Sudan to serve as a catalyst in the stalled peace talks. The appointment of an envoy could be the difference in bringing peace to Sudan.

I urge my colleagues to vote in favor of this bipartisan legislation to help end the campaign of violence against the people of Sudan.

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

The CHAIRMAN. All time for general debate has expired.

The bill shall be considered by section as an original bill for the purpose of amendment; and pursuant to the rule, each section is considered read.

During consideration of the bill for amendment, the Chair may accord priority in recognition to a Member offering an amendment that he has printed in the designated place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Those amendments will be considered read.

The Clerk will designate section 1.

The text of section 1 is as follows:

H.R. 2052

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Sudan Peace Act".

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any amendments to section 1?

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the remainder of the bill be printed in the RECORD and open to amendment at any point.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

The text of the remainder of the bill is as follows:

SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

The Congress makes the following findings:

(1) The Government of Sudan has intensified its prosecution of the war against areas outside of its control, which has already cost more than 2,000,000 lives and has displaced more than 4,000,000 people.

(2) A viable, comprehensive, and internationally sponsored peace process, protected from manipulation, presents the best chance for a permanent resolution of the war, protection of human rights, and a self-sustaining Sudan.

(3) Continued strengthening and reform of humanitarian relief operations in Sudan is

an essential element in the effort to bring an end to the war.

(4) Continued leadership by the United States is critical.

(5) Regardless of the future political status of the areas of Sudan outside of the control of the Government of Sudan, the absence of credible civil authority and institutions is a major impediment to achieving self-sustenance by the Sudanese people and to meaningful progress toward a viable peace process.

(6) Through the manipulation of traditional rivalries among peoples in areas outside of its full control, the Government of Sudan has used divide-and-conquer techniques effectively to subjugate its population. However, internationally sponsored reconciliation efforts have played a critical role in reducing human suffering and the effectiveness of this tactic.

(7) The Government of Sudan utilizes and organizes militias, Popular Defense Forces, and other irregular units for raiding and enslaving parties in areas outside of the control of the Government of Sudan in an effort to disrupt severely the ability of the populations in those areas to sustain themselves. The tactic helps minimize the Government of Sudan's accountability internationally.

(8) The Government of Sudan has repeatedly stated that it intends to use the expected proceeds from future oil sales to increase the tempo and lethality of the war against the areas outside of its control.

(9) By regularly banning air transport relief flights by the United Nations relief operation, Operation Lifeline Sudan (OLS), the Government of Sudan has been able to manipulate the receipt of food aid by the Sudanese people from the United States and other donor countries as a devastating weapon of war in the ongoing effort by the Government of Sudan to starve targeted groups and subdue areas of Sudan outside of the Government's control.

(10) The acts of the Government of Sudan, including the acts described in this section, constitute genocide as defined by the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (78 U.N.T.S. 277).

(11) The efforts of the United States and other donors in delivering relief and assistance through means outside of OLS have played a critical role in addressing the deficiencies in OLS and offset the Government of Sudan's manipulation of food donations to advantage in the civil war in Sudan.

(12) While the immediate needs of selected areas in Sudan facing starvation have been addressed in the near term, the population in areas of Sudan outside of the control of the Government of Sudan are still in danger of extreme disruption of their ability to sustain themselves.

(13) The Nuba Mountains and many areas in Bahr al Ghazal and the Upper Nile and the Blue Nile regions have been excluded completely from relief distribution by OLS, consequently placing their populations at increased risk of famine.

(14) At a cost which has sometimes exceeded \$1,000,000 per day, and with a primary focus on providing only for the immediate food needs of the recipients, the current international relief operations are neither sustainable nor desirable in the long term.

(15) The ability of populations to defend themselves against attack in areas outside of the control of the Government of Sudan has been severely compromised by the disengagement of the front-line states of Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Uganda, fostering the belief among officials of the Government of Sudan

that success on the battlefield can be achieved.

(16) The United States should use all means of pressure available to facilitate a comprehensive solution to the war in Sudan, including—

(A) the multilateralization of economic and diplomatic tools to compel the Government of Sudan to enter into a good faith peace process;

(B) the support or creation of viable democratic civil authority and institutions in areas of Sudan outside of government control;

(C) continued active support of people-to-people reconciliation mechanisms and efforts in areas outside of government control;

(D) the strengthening of the mechanisms to provide humanitarian relief to those areas; and

(E) cooperation among the trading partners of the United States and within multilateral institutions toward those ends.

SEC. 3. DEFINITIONS.

In this Act:

(1) **APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES.**—The term "appropriate congressional committees" means the Committee on International Relations of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate.

(2) **GOVERNMENT OF SUDAN.**—The term "Government of Sudan" means the National Islamic Front government in Khartoum, Sudan.

(3) **OLS.**—The term "OLS" means the United Nations relief operation carried out by UNICEF, the World Food Program, and participating relief organizations known as "Operation Lifeline Sudan".

SEC. 4. CONDEMNATION OF SLAVERY, OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES, AND TACTICS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SUDAN.

The Congress hereby—

(1) condemns—

(A) violations of human rights on all sides of the conflict in Sudan;

(B) the Government of Sudan's overall human rights record, with regard to both the prosecution of the war and the denial of basic human and political rights to all Sudanese;

(C) the ongoing slave trade in Sudan and the role of the Government of Sudan in abetting and tolerating the practice;

(D) the Government of Sudan's use and organization of "murahallin" or "mujahadeen", Popular Defense Forces (PDF), and regular Sudanese Army units into organized and coordinated raiding and slaving parties in Bahr al Ghazal, the Nuba Mountains, and the Upper Nile and the Blue Nile regions; and

(E) aerial bombardment of civilian targets that is sponsored by the Government of Sudan; and

(2) recognizes that, along with selective bans on air transport relief flights by the Government of Sudan, the use of raiding and slaving parties is a tool for creating food shortages and is used as a systematic means to destroy the societies, culture, and economies of the Dinka, Nuer, and Nuba peoples in a policy of low-intensity ethnic cleansing.

SEC. 5. USE OF APPROPRIATED FUNDS.

The Congress urges the President to promptly make available to the National Democratic Alliance the \$10,000,000 in funds appropriated for assistance to such group under the heading "OTHER BILATERAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, ECONOMIC SUPPORT FUND" in title I of H.R. 5526 of the 106th Congress, as enacted into law by section 101(a) of Public Law 106-429.

SEC. 6. SUPPORT FOR AN INTERNATIONALLY SANCTIONED PEACE PROCESS.

(a) **FINDINGS.**—The Congress hereby recognizes that—

(1) a single viable, internationally and regionally sanctioned peace process holds the greatest opportunity to promote a negotiated, peaceful settlement to the war in Sudan; and

(2) resolution of the conflict in Sudan is best made through a peace process based on the Declaration of Principles reached in Nairobi, Kenya, on July 20, 1994.

(b) **UNITED STATES DIPLOMATIC SUPPORT.**—The Secretary of State is authorized to utilize the personnel of the Department of State for the support of—

(1) the ongoing negotiations between the Government of Sudan and opposition forces;

(2) any necessary peace settlement planning or implementation; and

(3) other United States diplomatic efforts supporting a peace process in Sudan.

SEC. 7. MULTILATERAL PRESSURE ON COMBATANTS.

It is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) the United Nations should be used as a tool to facilitate peace and recovery in Sudan; and

(2) the President, acting through the United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations, should seek to—

(A) revise the terms of OLS to end the veto power of the Government of Sudan over the plans by OLS for air transport relief flights and, by doing so, to end the manipulation of the delivery of relief supplies to the advantage of the Government of Sudan on the battlefield;

(B) investigate the practice of slavery in Sudan and provide mechanisms for its elimination; and

(C) sponsor a condemnation of the Government of Sudan each time it subjects civilians to aerial bombardment.

SEC. 8. DISCLOSURE OF BUSINESS ACTIVITIES IN SUDAN.

(a) **DISCLOSURE REQUIREMENTS.**—No entity that is engaged in any commercial activity in Sudan may trade any of its securities (or depository receipts with respect to its securities) in any capital market in the United States unless that entity has disclosed, in such form as the Securities and Exchange Commission shall prescribe—

(1) the nature and extent of that commercial activity in Sudan, including any plans for expansion or diversification;

(2) the identity of all agencies of the Sudanese Government with which the entity is doing business;

(3) the relationship of the commercial activity to any violations of religious freedom and other human rights in Sudan; and

(4) the contribution that the proceeds raised in the capital markets in the United States will make to the entity's commercial activity in Sudan.

(b) **DISCLOSURE TO THE PUBLIC.**—The Securities and Exchange Commission shall take the necessary steps to ensure that disclosures under subsection (a) are published or otherwise made available to the public.

(c) **ENFORCEMENT AUTHORITY.**—The President may exercise the authorities he has under the International Emergency Economic Powers Act to assist the Securities and Exchange Commission in carrying out this section.

SEC. 9. REPORTING REQUIREMENT.

Not later than six months after the date of the enactment of this Act, and annually thereafter, the Secretary of State shall prepare and submit to the appropriate congress-

sional committees a report regarding the conflict in Sudan. Such report shall include—

(1) a description of the sources and current status of Sudan's financing and construction of infrastructure and pipelines for oil exploitation, the effects of such financing and construction on the inhabitants of the regions in which the oil fields are located, and the ability of the Government of Sudan to finance the war in Sudan with the proceeds of the oil exploitation;

(2) a description of the extent to which that financing was secured in the United States or with involvement of United States citizens;

(3) the best estimates of the extent of aerial bombardment by the Government of Sudan, including targets, frequency, and best estimates of damage; and

(4) a description of the extent to which humanitarian relief has been obstructed or manipulated by the Government of Sudan or other forces.

SEC. 10. CONTINUED USE OF NON-OLS ORGANIZATIONS FOR RELIEF EFFORTS.

(a) **SENSE OF CONGRESS.**—It is the sense of the Congress that the President should continue to increase the use of non-OLS agencies in the distribution of relief supplies in southern Sudan.

(b) **REPORT.**—Not later than 90 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the President shall submit to the appropriate congressional committees a detailed report describing the progress made toward carrying out subsection (a).

SEC. 11. CONTINGENCY PLAN FOR ANY BAN ON AIR TRANSPORT RELIEF FLIGHTS.

(a) **PLAN.**—The President shall develop a contingency plan to provide, outside the auspices of the United Nations if necessary, the greatest possible amount of United States Government and privately donated relief to all affected areas in Sudan, including the Nuba Mountains and the Upper Nile and the Blue Nile regions, in the event that the Government of Sudan imposes a total, partial, or incremental ban on OLS air transport relief flights.

(b) **REPROGRAMMING AUTHORITY.**—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, in carrying out the plan developed under subsection (a), the President may reprogram up to 100 percent of the funds available for support of OLS operations (but for this subsection) for the purposes of the plan.

SEC. 12. INVESTIGATION OF WAR CRIMES.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—The Secretary of State shall collect information about incidents which may constitute crimes against humanity, genocide, war crimes, and other violations of international humanitarian law by all parties to the conflict in Sudan, including slavery, rape, and aerial bombardment of civilian targets.

(b) **REPORT.**—Not later than six months after the date of the enactment of this Act and annually thereafter, the Secretary of State shall prepare and submit to the appropriate congressional committees a detailed report on the information that the Secretary of State has collected under subsection (a) and any findings or determinations made by the Secretary on the basis of that information. The report under this subsection may be submitted as part of the report required under section 9.

(c) **CONSULTATIONS WITH OTHER DEPARTMENTS.**—In preparing the report required by this section, the Secretary of State shall consult and coordinate with all other Government officials who have information necessary to complete the report. Nothing con-

tained in this section shall require the disclosure, on a classified or unclassified basis, of information that would jeopardize sensitive sources and methods or other vital national security interests.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there amendments to other sections of the bill?

AMENDMENT NO. 1 OFFERED BY MR. BACHUS

Mr. BACHUS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will designate the amendment.

The text of the amendment is as follows:

Amendment No. 1 offered by Mr. BACHUS:

Insert the following after section 8 and redesignate the succeeding sections, and references thereto, accordingly:

SEC. 9. PROHIBITION ON TRADING IN U.S. CAPITAL MARKETS.

(a) **PROHIBITION.**—The President shall exercise the authorities he has under the International Emergency Economic Powers Act to prohibit any entity engaged in the development of oil or gas in Sudan—

(1) from raising capital in the United States; or

(2) from trading its securities (or depository receipts with respect to its securities) in any capital market in the United States.

(b) **DEFINITION.**—For purposes of this section, an entity is "engaged in the development of oil or gas in Sudan" if that entity is directly engaged in the exploration, production, transportation (by pipeline or otherwise), or refining of petroleum, natural gas, or petroleum products in Sudan.

Mr. BACHUS. Mr. Chairman, there was an article on the front page of the Washington Post on Monday, and it says, "Oil money is fueling Sudan's war". It goes on to say that Arab is killing non-Arab or African and Muslims are killing Christians. But one thing is in common, and that is that, and it says, Nile Blend crude is fueling this entire war.

It talks about the four oil companies that are in Sudan drilling for oil, turning the proceeds of that development over to the government. The government is hiring guns and arms and airplanes and helicopter gunships, and they are bombing the people of Sudan.

The quote in that article is the fighting follows the oil. If you can stop the oil revenue, you have a chance at stopping the fighting. That is exactly what this amendment does.

In fact, I offered this amendment to the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, this amendment and a disclosure amendment, which the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE) offered; and he got the disclosure amendment included in this bill.

I will introduce at this time a report of the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom, a bipartisan commission. They recommended that this Congress do two things. One is require disclosure, and that is in the bill; and, number two, that we stop these five oil companies from raising funds in the United States to develop these oil fields. They said that both would be necessary. So with

this amendment, we will add the other half of what is a necessary action.

Mr. Chairman, I include for the RECORD pages 131 and 132 of that report, as follows:

REPORT OF THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION
ON INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

The U.S. government should strengthen economic sanctions against Sudan and should urge other countries to adopt similar policies. The United States should prohibit any foreign company from raising capital or listing its securities in U.S. markets as long as it is engaged in the development of oil and gas fields in Sudan. The U.S. government should not issue licenses permitting the import of gum arabic from Sudan to the United States.

U.S. economic sanctions against Sudan should be strengthened and not reduced. They should be strengthened by (a) prohibiting access to U.S. capital markets for those non-U.S. companies engaged in the development of the Sudanese oil and gas fields, and (b) not issuing further licenses for the import of gum arabic to the United States.

The Commission is aware of the current debate both internationally and in the United States on the effectiveness of economic sanctions generally. Unilateral economic sanctions by the United States have not prevented foreign investment in Sudan's oil business, which has, in turn, provided the Sudanese government with significant financial support for its egregious human rights and humanitarian abuses. However, it has not been established that U.S. sanctions have been completely ineffective. They can continue, for example, to slow the rate of increase of foreign investment in Sudan and oil revenues to the Sudanese government. One way to increase the potential effectiveness of the sanctions is to convince other economic powers to adopt similar policies. In this regard, the Commission urges the U.S. government to encourage economic pressure on the Sudanese government in its bilateral relations at all levels with countries that engage in substantial trade with or provide significant foreign investment in Sudan.

Current sanctions prohibit investment by U.S. companies in Sudan. They also prohibit transactions between U.S. companies and the Greater Nile Petroleum Operating Company (Sudan's oil consortium) or Sudapet (Sudan's petroleum company).

In the absence of multilateral economic sanctions, however, preventing access to U.S. capital markets by foreign companies engaged in the oil-development business in Sudan targets a specific weakness in the current U.S. sanctions regime. The Commission recommends that foreign corporations doing business with Sudan's petroleum industry be prohibited from issuing or listing its securities on U.S. capital markets.

The Commission does not lightly recommend these significant restrictions on U.S. capital markets access, but believes that the specific conditions in Sudan warrant them. The government of Sudan is committing genocidal humanitarian and human rights abuses. There is a direct connection between oil production and those abuses. Foreign investment is critical to the development of Sudan's oil fields and maintaining oil revenues. Expanding U.S. sanctions in the area of capital markets access specifically targets what is likely the most significant resource that the Sudanese government has to prosecute the war.

Moreover, the issue of continuing economic sanctions against Sudan is one of

principle as well as effectiveness. Reducing sanctions against Sudan at this time—after the Sudanese government has made no concessions but rather has increased its civilian bombings and other atrocities—would be to reward it for worsening behavior. This will send the wrong message to the government of Sudan and the international community.

With respect to licenses granted in 1999 and 2000 to permit U.S. imports of gum Arabic, the purpose of granting those licenses was to allow U.S. importers time to identify alternative sources of supply. Because a reasonable amount of time has elapsed, no further licenses should be granted, and efforts should be continued to identify alternate suppliers of this product.

If the government of Sudan demonstrates substantial, sustained, and comprehensive improvement in the human rights conditions for people throughout the country, the U.S. government should seriously re-evaluate its sanctions regime.

Companies that are doing business in Sudan should be required to disclose the nature and extent of that business in connection with their access to U.S. capital markets.

There is a significant, undesirable gap in U.S. law regarding Sudan and other CPC countries: In many cases, foreign companies that are doing business in Sudan can sell securities on U.S. markets without having to disclose fully (1) the details of the particular business activities in Sudan, including plans for expansion or diversification; (2) the identity of all agencies of the Sudanese government with which the companies are doing business; (3) the relationship of the business activities to violations of religious freedom and other human rights in Sudan; or (4) the contribution that the proceeds raised in the U.S. debt and equity markets will make to these business activities and hence, potentially to those violations. Across-the-board full disclosure of these details would prompt corporate managers to work to prevent their companies from supporting or facilitating these violations. It also would aid (1) U.S. investors in deciding whether to purchase the securities; (2) shareholders in exercising their ownership rights (including proposing shareholder resolutions for annual meetings and proxy statements); (3) the Treasury Department's Office of Foreign Assets Control in enforcing existing sanctions; and (4) U.S. policymakers in formulating sound policy with respect to Sudan and U.S. capital markets. The Commission recommends that the United States require such disclosure.

Mr. Chairman, let me say this, the question was asked, should we get involved? I would like to remind my colleagues of a story in the book of Esther where Esther is asked by Mordecai, "Do you think if you hold your peace at a time like this that you shall escape judgment?" Let me tell, my colleagues, it is a time such as this. It is a time when millions of people are being slain, where genocide is going on.

Mordecai also reminded Esther that she had been placed in a position of leadership and just to make such decisions as this. I believe that, I believe that those who serve here have been placed in a position of trust and leadership, and I think that, if we do not act, and we do not act decisively, I do not think that we can expect to escape. We have been placed here for a reason. We ought to undertake that obligation. That trust has been placed in us.

People have said to me, well, what will this interfere with? What will this do? We deny U.S. oil companies the right, and we should, to go over to Sudan and drill. We say, if you go over there, we will put you in jail. If you go over there, we will fine you. You should not be engaged in that activity.

But the paradox is that a foreign oil company can go over there. They can develop these oil fields. What they do with helicopter gunships and jet planes, they clear the land of people. They burn down the houses on the oil concessions and kill the people that live there and develop the oil. We need to say to those five oil companies, if they are going to do that, they are not going to raise money in the United States capital markets.

This will be a meaningful, positive step. I commend the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDO). I commend the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE). I commend the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS). Let me say that by putting this amendment in the bill, it will be another decisive case in drying up the flow of oil revenue, which is blood money, which is resulting in the death of millions of people.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Chairman, first of all, I want to thank the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. BACHUS) for this very important amendment, which I strongly support and urge all of our colleagues to support.

This amendment deals with the operation of foreign oil companies in the Sudan. The complicity of the foreign oil industry in this human destruction is one of the most shameful factors in this 17-year-old slaughter.

Canadian-owned Talisman Oil Company has publicly admitted that, in the year 2000, its Greater Nile Petroleum Operating Company's airstrips were used for offensive military purposes by military aircraft of the government of Sudan against innocent men, women and children who live in the south of the country.

We should not allow oil companies that are helping to prolong this bloody slaughter to raise capital or trade securities in the United States.

The call for sanctions in this amendment, Mr. Chairman, is consistent with efforts by the American people to send a strong message to oil companies doing business in Sudan. Major public institutional investors, such as the City of New York or the Texas Teachers Pension Fund, have divested themselves from Talisman Oil in protest of its explicit dealings with the Sudanese government.

Recently, a European coalition on oil in Sudan was launched, indicating that the campaign has now reached Europe to end the role of oil companies in the ongoing destruction of the Sudanese people.

Mr. Chairman, I strongly urge all Members to support this amendment, because it would be shameful to allow foreign oil companies to raise funds which are ultimately used for the genocide of the Sudanese people.

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, we are in a full committee markup, and I ran out because I wanted to be here when this bill came up. One, I rise in strong support of the bill. I want to thank the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDO) and the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE) and the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE) and the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) and also Senators BROWNBACK and FRIST and the others over in the Senate for their good work.

I also rise in strong support of the amendment because oil is basically fueling this, bringing about death. There have been 2.2 million people that died in Sudan in the last 15 to 16 years. Every major terrorist group operating in the Middle East has an operation, a training camp outside of Khartoum. Disease, the sleeping sickness and so many of the diseases are running rampant in Sudan, particularly in the southern Sudan.

So the passage of this bill will send a message that the American people and the Congress care deeply about stopping the fighting, stopping the death, stopping the oil and stopping slavery. This is one of two or three countries in the world today where there is actually organized slavery.

So I just want to thank the committee and both sides of the aisle for bringing this up and for the good work. When the people in Sudan find out tomorrow, through whatever sources that they find out, that this bill passed, hopefully by an overwhelming vote, hopefully with almost no "no" votes, it will send a message that the American Congress and the American Government cares, and we are committed to doing everything we can.

The Tancredo bill and this bill will do it, and the amendment, to bring about a just, and I stress the word "just", and a lasting peace.

Mr. Chairman, I want to thank my colleague from Colorado, Mr. TANCREDO, for his hard work on this legislation. We are considering this legislation today because of his leadership and persistence. He has been solid on Sudan issues and it is a pleasure to work with him to help bring a just peace to Sudan.

I also want to thank my colleague from New Jersey, Mr. PAYNE, the ranking member of the Africa subcommittee. I know he and Mr. TANCREDO worked together on this legislation and his commitment on Sudan throughout the years' has been outstanding.

I also want to thank Mr. ROYCE, the chairman of the Africa subcommittee, and Mr. HYDE, chairman of the International Relations Committee, for bringing the Sudan Peace Act to the floor for a vote today.

The Sudan Peace Act is good legislation and I believe that passing this legislation today will be a step forward in helping to end the suffering, death and destruction in Sudan.

I have been to Sudan four times since 1989, most recently visiting southern Sudan in January of this year. I have seen the conditions on the ground first-hand.

Since 1983, the government of Sudan has been waging a brutal war against factions in the south who are fighting for self-determination and religious freedom. More people have died in Sudan than in Kosovo, Bosnia, Somalia and Rwanda combined with the war resulting in over 2 million deaths and 4 million displaced people. Most of the dead are civilians—women and children—who die from starvation and disease caused by the war.

The U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum has issued a genocide warning for Sudan. The Holocaust Museum's warning is a hallowed reminder of our very moral standing as human beings and compels us to never again be silent witnesses to the mass enslavement, mass starvation, mass murder of a people.

The Sudanese Government routinely attacks civilian targets, such as hospitals, churches, feeding centers, and uses aerial bombings to intimidate and kill the southern population. In the past several months, numerous hospitals, schools and feeding areas in the south have been bombed by the government, killing numerous innocent men, women and children.

By conservative estimates, the U.S. Committee on Refugees (USCR) confirms that the Government of Sudan bombed innocent civilians in southern Sudan over 167 times last year.

This year alone, the USCR confirms 20 bombings of civilians in southern Sudan, although this number now is certainly much higher. Recently, a Sudanese Government Antonov bomber dropped at least 16 bombs on the town of Narus, killing a 9-year-old child.

This year during the Easter holiday, the Government of Sudan bombed innocent civilians in the Nuba Mountains. The Roman Catholic Bishop of the area, Bishop Maccram Gassis, was on the ground and witnessed the attack. Bishop Gassis writes on the attack:

It was Easter Monday, and I had just completed my Easter pastoral visit to my parishes in the Nuba Mountains—among the most important of my periodic visits during the year. At the airstrip, my personnel were loading our plane for departure when the Antonov bomber was spotted above the field. Everyone scattered and fell to the ground as four to six shells (by our calculations) fell some 500 feet from the end of the runway.

And the bombing continues. According to the Associated Press, just a few days ago, the Khartoum regime reportedly killed 4 people in a bombing attack during a delivery of aid by the World Food Program. The bombing and killing of innocent civilians must stop and this legislation rightly condemns the Government of Sudan for its wanton bombardment of civilians.

Fueling Khartoum's ability to conduct its genocide against southern Sudan is oil. Today, major international oil companies are generating billions of dollars of annual revenue for the Khartoum regime. Khartoum has openly pledged to use this revenue for modern

bombers, helicopter gun ships and other weapons in its war against the people of southern Sudan. Indeed, the June 11, 2001, Washington Post reports that because of its new oil revenue, the Government of Sudan has doubled its military spending since 1998 totaling \$327 million in 2000.

In a recent speech I made at the U.S. Holocaust Museum, I said:

The U.S. Commission on Religious Liberty has bravely called on the President to limit oil companies that finance the regime from access to U.S. capital markets. Here in this museum, in the literal shadow of exhibits of the slave labor practices of many German companies, in the face of what we know about the victimization of Jews at the hands of European banks, insurance companies, art galleries and other institutions, a clear message must be sent to the following oil companies: Talisman of Canada, the China National Petroleum Company, Petronas of Malaysia, Lundin of Sweden, Total/Fina/Elf of France, OMV of Austria—Enter into oil contracts with the genocidal regime in Sudan, and produce revenue for it, only at grave risk of losing—financially and otherwise—far more than you can possibly gain from those contracts.

This legislation takes a significant step in addressing the connection between oil and the Sudan Government's atrocities by stating that no company can list securities on U.S. exchanges unless a company fulfills comprehensive disclosure requirements about its business activities in Sudan.

While the acting chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), Laura Unger, has initiated several new disclosure requirements applying to companies invested in Sudan, the SEC requirements in this legislation go a long way toward ensuring the world knows what companies are aiding and abetting the regime in Khartoum.

Slavery exists today in the 21st century and this legislation rightly condemns the Government of Sudan's role in the ongoing slave trade. The Sudanese government has done nothing to stop the slavery. Slave traders from the north sweep down into southern villages and kidnap women and children who are then sold for use as domestic servants, concubines or other purposes. This is real life chattel slavery.

The Department of State 2000 Human Rights report describes slavery in Sudan, stating:

... slavery persists, particularly affecting women and children. The taking of slaves, particularly in war zones, and their transport to parts of central and northern Sudan, continued. Credible reports persist of practices such as the sale and purchase of children, some in alleged slave markets ... 10,000 to 12,000 slaves remain in captivity at year's end.

The Sudanese regime is also involved in the support of global terrorism. The National Commission on Terrorism reported in June 2000 that Sudan continues to support global terrorism by providing funding, refuge, training bases, and weapons to terrorists. The Sudan government was implicated in the 1995 assassination attempt on Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak. Nearly every major terrorist organization in the world is welcomed in Sudan.

Over the past decade, the U.S. has contributed over a billion dollars for relief and humanitarian aid for Sudan. I am glad that this legislation urges President Bush to promptly make available to the National Democratic Alliance \$10 million in non-lethal, non-military aid previously authorized by Congress.

The Bush Administration is making the right moves on Sudan, appointing USAID Administrator Andrew Natsios as special coordinator for humanitarian assistance, approving more aid for the suffering in Sudan, and indicating a willingness to make bringing a just peace to Sudan a priority. As the appointment of a special envoy for Sudan by the Bush Administration is imminent, I am hopeful that the U.S. will play a more aggressive and assertive role in achieving a real and just peace. But we also need to bear down on the Khartoum government to stop its aggression against the south and reach a lasting peace.

The actions of the Sudanese government regarding human rights abuses and religious persecution toward its own people cannot be tolerated. Far too long and in too many circumstances the repressive and intolerable governments of the world have been allowed to engage—unopposed—in widespread human rights and religious freedom violations that strike at the core of being evil. We in Congress have an obligation not to let these governments or regimes go unopposed.

The Sudan Peace Act addresses one of the greatest humanitarian issues of our day—over 2 million have died—and yet it is tough on the regime in Khartoum. I strongly support this legislation and urge a unanimous vote.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I rise, not only as a member of the Committee on International Relations, but as a member of the Committee on Financial Services.

Just a few weeks ago, I had a chance to tour both NASDAQ and the New York Stock Exchange. These exchanges are not only the center of American capitalism and the American securities market, they will soon be the unchallenged center for a world capital market. They are critical to the large international oil companies, not just those based in the United States, but those based in Europe and Japan as well. In fact, I think we will soon have a seamless market in which one invests through the two great exchanges of the United States in companies based anywhere in the world.

As others have said, it would simply be immoral if this great resource of the United States, our great securities markets, were to be used to raise capital, not just to do business from Sudan, but actually to support the Sudanese government. Because as others have pointed out, this is the source of money for this repressive regime. In fact, this is not just a repressive regime. This is the worst government in the world that benefits from substantial international investment. It is a country that practices a form of genocide and slavery, and that should not taint the American financial markets.

I will be back on this floor tomorrow to try to do everything I can to strengthen the American financial markets by reducing the fees that are imposed on each securities transaction. But as we strengthen these markets financially, we must also make them stronger morally and ethically. We can do that today by making sure that those companies that invest in the Sudanese oil sector do not take advantage of these increasingly important financial markets.

So I would hope that all of those who are concerned with the brutal mass murders and genocide in Sudan and all of those who are concerned with building the strongest possible financial markets in the United States would be here on this floor if a recorded vote is called to vote in favor of this amendment.

□ 1415

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to this amendment, mainly because I do not think it is a good move to have the SEC internationalized to begin with, and to further internationalize it does not seem to make a whole lot of sense.

For one thing, cracking down more on foreign oil companies that are doing business in Sudan will not necessarily prohibit the benefits that may flow to the American oil companies if there is a change in government. We should not ignore that. We go to war over oil. We went to war over oil in the Persian Gulf, and certainly we had oil as an influence to send in many dollars and much equipment down into Colombia.

But just let me read from the bill. It says the Secretary of State will report back on a description of the sources and the current status of Sudan's financing and construction of infrastructure and pipelines for oil exploitation; the effects of such financing and construction of the inhabitants of the region. It goes on, which in a way does a lot of research and benefit for our oil companies that may benefit. So I think oil is involved, but in quite a different way than I think we should be involved in dealing with the foreign oil companies today. So I am not going to support this amendment.

I would like to take another moment to mention something which is considered an esoteric point, but I consider very important, and that has to do with the authority to do these kinds of things that we are doing today, no matter how well intended. The committee report explains the authority, and the supporters of the bill says the authority comes from article one, section 8, clause 18. And they look to the right place. Article one, section 8 gives us our 18 enumerated powers that we are permitted to do. The clause 18 is the necessary and proper clause: to make all laws which shall be necessary

and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers.

The foregoing powers were those 18 issued. To use this in a generalized sense means there is no constitution left. That means any power we want, we can do whatever we want. That was specifically designed to pass laws to enforce those 18 enumerated powers. So this bill, in spite of all the good intentions that we hope it will do, really undermines the whole concept of the Doctrine of Enumerated Powers.

And we should not take that lightly, although this generally is not of much interest to so many people because we do so much and we have such great hopes that it will always do so much good. From just observing history, recent history, the last 20, 30, 40 years since World War II, so often when we get involved and we send money to help the good guys, it is not infrequent the good things that we send in, goods and services and weapons, end up in the hands of the opposition and the enemy. So that is always a possibility once again. These commodities and services and the things that we send and the money may well end up literally being used against the people we are trying to help.

The other thing that we tend to ignore here is we concentrate on the good things that we are going to accomplish. Miraculously, we are going to solve this problem by putting \$10 million in today and \$100 million in the next 5 years, and everything is going to be solved. We do not think about it failing, because that would be a negative, and we do not want to think about that. We do not think about the Constitution, and we do not think about who pays. Somebody always has to pay. This is token. Who cares about \$10 million? When we take \$10 million out of the economy, there is somebody who suffered; somebody did not get a house or somebody lost a job. But they are not identifiable. They do not have a lobbyist. They are lost. But they are penalized. There is always a cost.

And even if we assume we have a surplus and the money is already in the budget, we still should be concerned because we are making a choice. We are saying that we are going to take this money and take the risk of sending it over there. Maybe it will help. Maybe I am right, maybe it will not do quite as much good as we think, but we make a trade-off. We say today that we will send this money with the hope that it will do good at the expense of a domestic program. Do my colleagues think every poor person in this country has been taken care of, their medical care needs or housing? So we do make choices continuously, but we forget about that.

We never really think about the choices that we make, and there is always a trade-off. And we generally always forget about finding the point in

the Constitution that gives us authority. In this case, this is the wrong authority, and it is not a proper interpretation of the Constitution as described in the committee report.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I stand in strong support of the Bachus amendment, the amendment to prohibit any foreign company from raising capital or listing its securities in the U.S. markets as long as the company is engaged in oil and gas development in Sudan. Currently, the China National Petroleum Company, through its PetroChina subsidiary; Talisman Oil of Canada; Royal Dutch Shell, Netherlands; Lundin Oil, Sudan; and TOTAL NEL from France all list their stocks on the New York Stock Exchange or NASDAQ.

We have been talking about what more can we do. As we know, it is not the policy any longer to send U.S. troops abroad. If this were 50 years ago, 40 years ago, with the atrocities of this nature, we may have sent in an intervention group. We did it in Haiti, we did it in the Dominican Republic, we have done it around the world. But today is a different time, a different day, and we do not do that. So our resources are limited as to how we can force a dictatorial regime to change its ways.

I think we should cut off access to capital markets in this country. This country is the world's power economically, and the next war is going to be an economic war. We have moved ahead of the Euro, where it is 20 percent, 15 percent stronger than the Euro. This is where everyone is coming to get the money.

I wonder why some people serve in Congress. To hear a person talk about \$10 million as too much to spend, when if it was not for the Marshall Plan the world would still be trying to come out of the degradation of World War II. We spent billions and billions and billions of dollars to do the right thing because it was the right thing to do. When someone questions \$10 million that might go in to try to help a country build a social society or that a vehicle may be taken by the enemy, that is absolutely ludicrous, makes no sense; and I do not know why some people even spend time in this House, because they have absolutely nothing to offer.

So I just think that it is imperative upon us to try to use the weapons that we have. We do not have military weapons any longer to go into countries. People wonder, well, why should we do this. Well, because this is supposed to be the land of the free, the home of the brave. We have the Statute of Liberty still standing there. We have to stand for something. When I hear people say why should we be concerned about the new independent states in Central Europe, it is because there has to be someone who is the moral leader

of the world. We are in the responsible position.

It is like a basketball player. When I speak to young men like Iverson, who plays for the 76ers or a Carter, who plays with the Toronto Raptors, I say whether you like it or not, you are a role model. Young people look up to you; therefore you have a responsibility to act right, to do the right thing. Whether you like it or not, you are looked upon as something that other people want to follow. And this country is the one country in the world that other countries want to follow. We have a moral responsibility whether we like it or not.

We cannot move back from the world. We are the world, and we have a responsibility to remain the world's leader. If we cannot do any more than to cut a couple of oil companies off from Wall Street, then what can we do? This is a small thing we are acting on. It will not even have an impact on that trillion dollar industry that trades hundreds of billions of dollars daily, but it will have a massive impact on those companies who come here with blood dripping off their hands to get more money so that more blood will come dripping as they continue to push people from their lands so that they can fill their pockets with dollars.

At some point we have a moral obligation and a responsibility. The time is now. I urge support of the Bachus amendment.

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I do want to stress that this legislation is not directed against Islam. This legislation is directed against religious persecution, and this includes the issue of forced conversion. Again, I think we need to be clear. Congress is saying nothing here against the religion of Islam, which is an increasingly important part of our national fabric.

I think we need to be clear that what we are saying here with this bill and with this amendment that we are adding to the bill is that we are bringing attention to Sudan, we are addressing shortcomings in the delivery of humanitarian relief, and we are providing tools to the administration and the American public to attempt to end the massive suffering of the Sudanese people.

Mr. BACHUS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROYCE. I yield to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. BACHUS. Mr. Chairman, when someone stands in the well and questions the constitutionality of an amendment, then I think the Members ought to listen. I think they ought to take note, because that is a serious charge.

It would be a convincing argument if one was not familiar with the history of legislation in this body. If one was,

they would know one of our first Congresses, which contained many men who signed the original constitution, that drafted it, imposed sanctions of a financial and capital nature against foreign fur trading companies. So the folks that drafted that and enumerated those powers then stood in this Congress and imposed such sanctions, and these sanctions have been imposed during several war periods.

It is particularly ironic that we would defend four foreign oil companies when we have in this body passed legislation, including fines and terms of imprisonment, if our oil companies go over there and drill. So it is quite ironic that we would impose these restrictions on our own oil companies for going overseas, and do that with a clear conscience, which I have, and yet allow their competition to go over there, kill innocent men, women and children, strafe hospitals, engage in all sorts of atrocities, and then not only look the other way when that happens, but we will allow them to raise the money to finance their operations in our capital markets, those same markets which restrict Americans from participating in and would not restrict the very bad actors who avoid the sanctions that we have now imposed. Truly an argument that I will never accept.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

First of all, Mr. Chairman, let me again say that the underlying bill is a good bill. This is a strengthening amendment, and I rise in very strong support of it. This amendment is about stopping genocide, Mr. Chairman, the deliberate and systematic attempt to eliminate an entire people in southern Sudan, by cutting off the flow of U.S. dollars to entities that are making genocide possible.

The whole world knows, Mr. Chairman, that the Khartoum regime routinely bombs schools and hospitals, and uses enslavement, mass rape, and starvation as weapons of war against black Christians and animists in the south. The good news, until 1997, was that the south was likely to win its independence and an end to the bloodshed. However, then Khartoum got foreign companies from China, Malaysia, and even Canada to develop oil fields and build a pipeline.

□ 1430

The equation is simple: By selling oil to the west, Khartoum can buy an army that can destroy the south and is destroying the south. We all know that the devastation is absolutely numbing and frightful. Two million people have been killed. Millions more have been wounded, and over 4 million people have been displaced.

Oil revenues have enabled the government to double spending on its war machine since 1998. The government

has used roads and air strips built for oil projects to launch military attacks. As one Sudanese victim put it, "Oil has done nothing but bring us death."

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE) and I have worked very hard to get New Jersey out of the mix with Talisman, which is a Canadian company. We held over 60,000 equities in that Talisman company as part of our New Jersey commitment to our State employees. Thankfully they got out of it, at some point kicking and screaming; but they are only one of many. There are many individual shareholders who will never read the disclosure information sent to them and maybe will not even care.

Mr. Chairman, we need to act in a collective manner that will have a high utility to say we want out. We want no part of this killing machine going on in Sudan. It is worth pointing out that the speaker of the Sudanese parliament does not make any bones about it. He said that the oil revenues will be used to buy war weapons. They are taking this oil revenue and buying guns and planes, and all kinds of other implements of destruction that are used against innocent men, women, and children.

The Talisman chief executive said that 70 percent of the oil revenue from the partnership will be going to the government. We are talking about a massive amount of money, \$500 million per year, being put into the coffers of this war machine.

Finally, let me say the Bachus-Hall-Smith amendment prohibits any foreign company from raising capital or listing its securities in U.S. markets as long as the company is engaged in oil development in Sudan. We have trade sanctions in place against Sudan, but foreign companies continue to invest in Sudan, and then they freely and openly raise money in the U.S. stock market and bond market to finance these activities.

Shame on us, Mr. Chairman, if we do not realize that we are facilitating the deaths of so many innocent children. The gentleman from Alabama (Mr. BACHUS) should be commended as should the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE) and all of us who are trying to make some difference here to stop this facilitation.

Mr. Chairman, we can make a difference; and hopefully our European and other allies will follow suit. We must lead by example. That is what this amendment does.

Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

First of all, Mr. Chairman, let me again say that the underlying bill is a excellent piece of legislation. The Bachus-Hall-Smith strengthening amendment improves the Sudan Peace Act. This amendment is about stopping genocide, Mr. Chairman, the deliberate and systematic attempt to eliminate an entire people in southern Sudan, by cutting off the flow of

U.S. dollars to entities that are making genocide possible.

The whole world knows, Mr. Chairman, that the Khartoum regime routinely bombs schools and hospitals, and uses enslavement, mass rape, and starvation as weapons of war against black Christians and animists in the south.

The good news, until 1997, was that the south was likely to win its independence and an end to the bloodshed. However, then Khartoum got foreign companies from China, Malaysia, and even Canada to develop oil fields and build a pipeline.

The equation is simple: By selling oil to the west, Khartoum can buy an army that can destroy the south and is indeed destroying the south. We all know that the devastation is absolutely numbing and frightful. Two million people have been killed. Millions more have been wounded, and over 4 million people have been displaced.

Oil revenues have enabled the government to double spending on its war machine since 1998. The government has used roads and air strips built for oil projects to launch military attacks. As one Sudanese victim put it, "Oil has done nothing but bring us death."

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE) and I worked very hard a couple of years ago to get New Jersey out of complicity with genocide. We worked—and succeeded—in convincing state officials to divest its stock holdings of Talisman, which is a Canadian oil company. Before divestiture, New Jersey owned over 600,000 shares of Talisman. Thankfully, New Jersey got out, but New Jersey is only one of many institutional holders of this stock. There are many individual shareholders who own Talisman oblivious to its facilitation of genocide. Some argue mere disclosure is adequate. I respectfully disagree. Disclosure information sent to shareholders or potential buyers of the stock may or may not make any difference.

Mr. Chairman, we need to act in a collective manner in unison, if we are to help end this horrific slaughter. We want no part of this killing machine. It is worth pointing out that the speaker of the Sudanese parliament does not make any bones how oil money equals a more lethal military force. He has said that the oil revenues will be used to buy war weapons. The Sudanese dictatorship is taking oil revenues and buying weapons of every stripe to be used against innocent men, women, and children. We are talking about a massive amount of money, \$500 million per year, being put into the coffers of this war machine.

The bottom line is this I say to my distinguished colleagues. The Bachus-Hall-Smith amendment prohibits any foreign company from raising capital or listing its securities in U.S. markets as long as the company is engaged in oil development in Sudan. We have trade sanctions in place against Sudan, but foreign companies continue to invest in Sudan, and then they freely and openly raise money in the U.S. stock market and bond market to finance these activities.

Shame on us, Mr. Chairman, if we do not realize that we are facilitating the deaths of so many innocent children. The gentleman from Alabama (Mr. Bachus) should be commended for crafting this humanitarian amendment.

Mr. Chairman, we can make a difference; and hopefully our European and other allies will follow suit. We must lead by example. We must be serious about ending the nightmare endured by the Sudanese people.

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I rise today in support of the Bachus amendment and the underlying Sudan Peace Act. I come from Omaha, Nebraska, Mr. Chairman, and we have been blessed with new folks who have immigrated from Sudan. They have come to my office, and we have spent several hours together talking about the tragedies that these folks have lived through, escaped from and come to America, come to my hometown, and are now integral parts of our community of Omaha, Nebraska.

These stories, they are true. These people have suffered. Over the past 18 years, Sudan's Khartoum government has killed more than 2 million of its own citizens through this civilian war. This is more than the entire population of Nebraska. This is almost four times the population of this city that we stand in right now. Men, women, children, some of these folks that have come to my office that I have sat down with are young men, and to hear their stories of what they had to escape: starved, beaten, friends taken for slavery, executed because of their beliefs, whether they are Christian or a different sect of Islam. And the people they are escaping are those with the government-sponsored guns. The National Islamic Front has bombed civilian centers, camps, relief hospitals. They have blocked humanitarian aid such as food and medical supplies, tortured and killed those who refuse to convert to their brand of religion. These appalling attacks on human rights have created one of the greatest tragedies in the history of mankind.

Now this government is using profits from new oil development to accelerate this genocidal war. That is why I came here today to support the Bachus amendment. I stand up here in full support of it. This act, the Sudan Peace Act, will send a clear signal to the leaders of Sudan and those who wonder whether we care more about oil than people. It will tell the other civilized nations of the world that we also care about religious freedom, and to follow our example and stop financing this extremism.

It will open up those doing business with the Khartoum government to the crucible of public pressure and help ensure that humanitarian aid ends up in the hands of the people, not the government officials waging this war. I hope this legislation will help end the bloodshed and provide relief to those suffering Sudanese people.

Mr. Chairman, I urge my colleagues to vote in support of this amendment and support the Sudan Peace Act.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. BACHUS).

The amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. If there are no further amendments, under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly, the Committee rose; and the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. SHAW) having assumed the chair, Mr. SIMPSON, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 2052) to facilitate famine relief efforts and a comprehensive solution to the war in Sudan, pursuant to House Resolution 162, he reported the bill back to the House with an amendment adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

The question is on the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. TANCREDO. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 422, nays 2, not voting 8, as follows:

[Roll No. 160]

YEAS—422

Abercrombie	Blumenauer	Carson (IN)
Ackerman	Blunt	Carson (OK)
Aderholt	Boehler	Castle
Akin	Boehner	Chabot
Andrews	Bonilla	Chambliss
Armey	Bonior	Clay
Baca	Bono	Clayton
Bachus	Borski	Clement
Baird	Boswell	Clyburn
Baker	Boucher	Coble
Baldacci	Boyd	Collins
Baldwin	Brady (PA)	Combest
Ballenger	Brady (TX)	Condit
Barcia	Brown (FL)	Conyers
Barr	Brown (OH)	Cooksey
Barrett	Brown (SC)	Costello
Bartlett	Bryant	Cox
Barton	Burr	Coyne
Bass	Burton	Cramer
Becerra	Buyer	Crane
Bentsen	Callahan	Crenshaw
Bereuter	Crowley	Hutchinson
Berkley	Camp	Cubin
Berman	Cannon	Culberson
Berry	Cantor	Cummings
Biggert	Capito	Cunningham
Bilirakis	Capps	Davis (CA)
Bishop	Capuano	Davis (FL)
Blagojevich	Cardin	Davis (IL)

Davis, Jo Ann	Jackson-Lee	Obey	Tancredo	Towns	Waxman
Davis, Tom	(TX)	Olver	Tanner	Trafficant	Weiner
Deal	Jefferson	Ortiz	Tauscher	Turner	Weidon (FL)
DeFazio	Jenkins	Osborne	Tauzin	Udall (CO)	Weldon (PA)
DeGette	John	Ose	Taylor (MS)	Udall (NM)	Weller
Delahunt	Johnson (CT)	Otter	Taylor (NC)	Upton	Wexler
DeLauro	Johnson (IL)	Owens	Terry	Velázquez	Whitfield
DeLay	Johnson, Sam	Oxley	Thomas	Visclosky	Wicker
DeMint	Jones (NC)	Pallone	Thompson (CA)	Vitter	Wilson
Deutsch	Jones (OH)	Pascarell	Thompson (MS)	Walden	Wolf
Diaz-Balart	Kanjorski	Pastor	Thornberry	Walsh	Woolsey
Dicks	Kaptur	Payne	Thune	Wamp	Wu
Doggett	Keller	Pelosi	Thurman	Waters	Wynn
Dooley	Kelly	Pence	Tiahrt	Watkins (OK)	Young (AK)
Doolittle	Kennedy (MN)	Peterson (MN)	Tiberi	Watson (CA)	Young (FL)
Doyle	Kennedy (RI)	Peterson (PA)	Tierney	Watt (NC)	
Dreier	Kerns	Petri	Toomey	Watts (OK)	
Duncan	Kildee	Phelps			
Dunn	Kilpatrick	Pickering			
Edwards	Kind (WI)	Pitts	Flake	Paul	
Ehlers	King (NY)	Platts			
Ehrlich	Kingston	Pombo			
Emerson	Kirk	Pomeroy			
Engel	Kleczka	Portman	Allen	Filner	Morella
English	Knollenberg	Price (NC)	Dingell	Fossella	Rush
Eshoo	Kolbe	Pryce (OH)	Ferguson	Johnson, E. B.	
Etheridge	Kucinich	Putnam			
Evans	LaFalce	Quinn			
Everett	LaHood	Radanovich			
Farr	Lampson	Rahall			
Fattah	Langevin	Ramstad			
Fletcher	Lantos	Rangel			
Foley	Largent	Regula			
Ford	Larsen (WA)	Rehberg			
Frank	Larson (CT)	Reyes			
Frelinghuysen	Latham	Reynolds			
Frost	LaTourrette	Riley			
Gallegly	Leach	Rivers			
Ganske	Lee	Rodriguez			
Gekas	Levin	Roemer			
Gephardt	Lewis (CA)	Rogers (KY)			
Gibbons	Lewis (GA)	Rogers (MI)			
Gilchrest	Lewis (KY)	Rohrabacher			
Gillmor	Linder	Ros-Lehtinen			
Gilman	Lipinski	Ross			
Gonzalez	LoBiondo	Rothman			
Goode	Lofgren	Roukema			
Goodlatte	Lowe	Roybal-Allard			
Gordon	Lucas (KY)	Royce			
Goss	Lucas (OK)	Ryan (WI)			
Graham	Luther	Ryun (KS)			
Granger	Maloney (CT)	Sabo			
Graves	Maloney (NY)	Sanchez			
Green (TX)	Manzullo	Sanders			
Green (WI)	Markey	Sandlin			
Greenwood	Mascara	Sawyer			
Grucci	Matheson	Saxton			
Gutierrez	Matsui	Scarborough			
Gutknecht	McCarthy (MO)	Schaffer			
Hall (OH)	McCarthy (NY)	Schakowsky			
Hall (TX)	McCollum	Schiff			
Hansen	McCrery	Schrock			
Harman	McDermott	Scott			
Hart	McGovern	Sensenbrenner			
Hastings (FL)	McHugh	Serrano			
Hastings (WA)	McInnis	Sessions			
Hayes	McIntyre	Shadegg			
Hayworth	McKeon	Shaw			
Heley	McKinney	Shays			
Herger	McNulty	Sherman			
Hill	Meehan	Sherwood			
Hilleary	Meek (FL)	Shimkus			
Hilliard	Meeks (NY)	Shows			
Hinche	Menendez	Shuster			
Hinojosa	Mica	Simmons			
Hobson	Millender-	Simpson			
Hoeffel	McDonald	Skeen			
Hoekstra	Miller (FL)	Skelton			
Holden	Miller, Gary	Slaughter			
Holt	Miller, George	Smith (MI)			
Honda	Mink	Smith (NJ)			
Hooley	Mollohan	Smith (TX)			
Horn	Moore	Smith (WA)			
Hostettler	Moran (KS)	Snyder			
Houghton	Moran (VA)	Solis			
Hoyer	Murtha	Souder			
Hulshof	Myrick	Spence			
Hunter	Nadler	Spratt			
Hutchinson	Napolitano	Stark			
Hyde	Neal	Stearns			
Insee	Nethercutt	Stenholm			
Isakson	Ney	Strickland			
Israel	Northup	Stump			
Issa	Norwood	Stupak			
Istook	Nussle	Sununu			
Jackson (IL)	Oberstar	Sweeney			

NAYS—2

NOT VOTING—8

□ 1502

So the bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Stated for:

Mr. FILNER. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 160, I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted "yea."

CONDEMNING TALIBAN REGIME OF AFGHANISTAN REQUIRING HINDUS TO WEAR SYMBOLS IDENTIFYING THEM AS HINDU

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the order of the House of Tuesday, June 12, 2001, I call up the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 145) condemning the recent order by the Taliban regime of Afghanistan to require Hindus in Afghanistan to wear symbols identifying them as Hindu, and ask for its immediate consideration in the House.

The Clerk read the title of the concurrent resolution.

The text of House Concurrent Resolution 145 is as follows:

H. CON. RES. 145

Whereas the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights guarantee the freedom of religion;

Whereas on May 22, 2001, the Taliban regime of Afghanistan directed Hindus and other non-Muslims to wear a yellow identity symbol and for Hindu women to fully cover themselves in a veil;

Whereas this proposal is reminiscent of the yellow Star of David that Jews were forced to wear in Nazi Germany and Nazi-occupied areas;

Whereas Department of State spokesperson Richard Boucher condemned the Taliban action, stating that "forcing social groups to wear distinctive clothing or identifying marks stigmatizes and isolates those groups and can never, never be justified";

Whereas the Taliban regime recently offended the world by ordering the destruction of all pre-Islamic statues in Afghanistan, among them a pair of 1,600-year-old, 100-foot-tall statues of Buddha that were carved out of a mountainside;

Whereas the reprehensible policies of the Taliban are exacerbating the suffering of the