

We have had even heavier losses in manufacturing Statewide, where 158,000 such jobs have disappeared since the President took office.

President Bush's declaration of our so-called "strong" economy is simply out of touch. He is peddling the idea is that his tax cuts for the wealthiest 1 percent have worked miracles. But North Carolinians know a sluggish recovery when they see one.

Declaring our economy strong does not make it so, and it does not put food on the table either. The News & Observer noted that the President did not take questions from local reporters. Is it any wonder why?

SENIORS AND DISABLED DESERVE BETTER PRESCRIPTION DRUG COVERAGE

(Mrs. CAPPS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. CAPPS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today on behalf of millions of American seniors who deserve lower prescription drug prices. And when I say lower drug prices, I mean real discounts and real drug coverage, not meaningless discount cards.

Congress has before it legislation that requires the Federal Government to negotiate real discount prices on prescription medicine for seniors. The VA, the Veterans Administration, already uses a system like this and obtains prices significantly lower than current plans, sometimes as much as 50 percent lower. But this bill, which would make such a difference, has not been allowed to come to the floor.

The same forces withholding this floor vote are the forces lauding the current Medicare law, the new law that does nothing to actually lower the cost of prescription medicines, that prohibits Medicare from using the bargaining power of Americans, 40 million seniors, to negotiate lower prices.

Our current Medicare law tells seniors to buy drug discount cards which do not give discounts for all drugs at all pharmacies. Seniors and the disabled deserve better than this. Let us do what is right on their behalf.

PROTECT AMERICAN SENIORS, NOT DRUG COMPANIES

(Ms. BERKLEY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. BERKLEY. Mr. Speaker, last year the Bush administration forced through a sham prescription drug bill that does absolutely nothing to lower drug costs, prohibits the government from negotiating with drug companies and blocks the reimportation of drugs from other countries. Under this bill, 20,000 seniors in Nevada will actually pay more for their prescription drugs than they need.

A recent study reported that the prices of the top 30 brand-name drugs

used by seniors rose by four times the rate of inflation in 2003. For years, seniors throughout the United States have been struggling with the dramatically increasing costs of their medications, while seniors in Canada can purchase the exact same drugs for 40 percent less.

Seniors need help now, and we need new leaders in the White House who will fight for all Americans' interests. Protect our seniors and not the drug companies.

MAKING IN ORDER AT ANY TIME AMENDMENT PRINTED IN HOUSE REPORT 108-591 DURING FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 4766, AGRICULTURE, RURAL DEVELOPMENT, FOOD AND DRUG ADMINISTRATION, AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS BILL, 2005

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that during further consideration of H.R. 4766, pursuant to House Resolution 710, the amendment printed in House Report 108-591 be permitted to be offered at any time.

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

There was no objection.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. LEWIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the motion to go to conference on H.R. 4613, and that I may include tabular material on the same.

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

There was no objection.

APPOINTMENT OF CONFEREES ON H.R. 4613, DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2005

Mr. LEWIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H.R. 4613) making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2005, and for other purposes, with a Senate amendment thereto, disagree to the Senate amendment, and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

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

There was no objection.

MOTION TO INSTRUCT CONFEREES OFFERED BY MR. JACKSON OF ILLINOIS

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged motion.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois moves that the managers on the part of the House at the

conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the Senate amendment to the bill, H.R. 4613, be instructed to insist on the maximum level within the scope of conference to respond to the humanitarian crisis in the Darfur region of Sudan and in Chad.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under rule XXII, the proponent of the motion and a Member of the opposing party each will control 30 minutes.

The gentleman from Illinois (Mr. JACKSON) is recognized for 30 minutes.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on my motion to instruct conferees on H.R. 4613.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I want to recognize the tireless work of the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF), the chairman of the Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice, State, Judiciary and Related Agencies of the Committee on Appropriations, who has just returned from Sudan. Without the gentleman from Virginia's tireless efforts in this area, we simply would not be where we are today.

I want to thank the chairman of the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, Export Financing and Related Programs of the Committee on Appropriations, the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KOLBE), and the ranking member, the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY), for their work on this issue.

I want to thank the chairman of the Subcommittee on Defense of the Committee on Appropriations, the gentleman from California (Chairman LEWIS), and the ranking member, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. MURTHA), and the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, the gentleman from Florida (Chairman YOUNG), and the ranking member, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY) for all of their efforts and continued support.

Mr. Speaker, I offer this motion to instruct the defense appropriations conferees to provide the highest possible funding level in the supplemental title of their conference report to help alleviate the incredible humanitarian crisis that is unfolding over the last year in the Darfur region of Sudan and in eastern Chad.

Currently, the House version of the defense appropriations bill contains \$95 million for humanitarian relief in Sudan, \$25 million for refugees, and \$70 million for disaster assistance.

In 1994, this country, along with rest of the world, stood and watched as 800,000 men, women, and children were slaughtered in Rwanda.

□ 1030

Two months ago, the world community marked the 10-year anniversary of a modern-day genocide in Rwanda and said, Never again.

In Sudan, by conservative estimates, at least 10,000 people, perhaps as many as 30,000, have been killed in the last year in Darfur, in the western region of Sudan. More than 1 million black Sudanese have been forced from their homes by government-backed militias, and as many as 200,000 Sudanese reside in makeshift refugee camps in Chad. The lack of food and water and the current rainy season will surely wreak havoc on the lives of these people.

The U.S. Agency for International Development, USAID Administrator Natsios has said that even if relief efforts were accelerated, more than 300,000 forced from their homes would die of starvation and disease. But the Sudanese government and their militias keep blocking aid. If foreign governments hesitate, Natsios said the death rates could be dramatically higher, approaching 1 million people. That assumes that the conferees, when they meet, if they increase the levels, nearly 300,000 people are likely to die. Surely these facts merit the highest possible funding levels in the supplemental title of the defense conference report.

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

Mr. LEWIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, the 30 minutes of time that this side controls is 30 minutes that I do not intend to expend, largely because we had a thorough discussion of this matter within the committee. As the gentleman has indicated, it has very broadly based bipartisan support.

The gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF) was the point person on this issue. The only reason it is being considered as we go forward with the Defense Subcommittee report is because we want to move on this very quickly, and it would appear that this bill will go through, work its way through conference reasonably quickly, and on the President's desk before the break. It is very appropriate that the House be responding effectively regarding this matter; and, frankly, it is very important that we stand together as Americans reflecting our concern about this tragic reality in Sudan.

Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the cooperation of the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. JACKSON).

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

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am now privileged to yield such time as she may consume to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI), the distinguished minority leader.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding and commend him for his leadership on this very important subject.

The situation in the Sudan challenges the conscience of the world, cer-

tainly of our country; and I am happy that this Congress is responding. I am pleased that the gentleman from California (Mr. LEWIS) is not in opposition to this motion to instruct the conferees to support the highest level of funding to respond to the crisis in the Darfur region of Sudan. Again, I thank the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. JACKSON) for offering the motion. I also want to acknowledge the leadership of the ranking member, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. MURTHA), for his leadership in including \$95 million in funding for the humanitarian crisis in the Sudan in this bill.

Mr. Speaker, the situation in Darfur is truly an emergency; it is a crisis. Without immediate and effective international intervention, hundreds of thousands of people will die. That is for sure. It is so sad.

The Sudanese government has mobilized militias to carry out a scorched-earth policy of indiscriminate attacks on African civilians. As many as 30,000 civilians may have already been murdered, and more than 1 million driven off their land into unprotected camps in the Sudan and neighboring Chad.

Both USAID and the United Nations have described these atrocities as "ethnic cleansing," and the Committee on Conscience of our own Holocaust Museum has issued a genocide warning for Darfur. Ethnic cleansing, genocide. We must act.

A genocide in the making demands the immediate attention of our government.

I call upon the Bush administration to keep the pressure on the Sudanese government. Sudanese officials must know that the United States and the international community will not tolerate the continuation of the humanitarian tragedy in Darfur.

Both the House and Senate Defense Appropriations bills contain \$95 million for emergency humanitarian relief in Darfur. As critical as these funds are, however, they can only help those whose lives are in danger if the Sudanese government cooperates.

The Sudanese government must fulfill its promises to restrain the militias it controls and to remove the bureaucratic barriers that make delivery of relief supplies so difficult. That includes facilitating visas for providers to enter the country. The evidence to date does not suggest that the Sudanese are serious about helping to end the misery in Darfur.

The recent visits of Secretary Powell and U.N. Secretary General Annan to Darfur were helpful in focusing attention on this crisis, and I commend both of them for the priority they have given to the Sudan, but much more needs to be done if we are to avert a catastrophe.

We spoke so much about the situation in Rwanda and we did not act soon enough, and it was horrible. If we ever had the opportunity again, we would certainly rise to the occasion. Well, it is happening again; and we must rise to

the occasion. The Sudanese government is not.

President Bush must not hesitate to impose sanctions as necessary to encourage a much higher degree of cooperation by the Sudanese government. Our response to the daily misery in Darfur must not be half-measured and delayed. We must act now while there is time to stop further slaughter, or our country will look back at lives lost in Darfur with the same regret and shame that we feel for other events in other parts of Africa, as I mentioned, Rwanda. My colleague, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. JACKSON), pointed out that even if we acted now, still about 300,000 people will die. We can hopefully lower that number, but it certainly will be higher if we do not act.

How many times have we heard the public outcry, Why did we not stop the killings? This is a crisis. This is an emergency. We must act now to stop the slaughter of thousands of innocent people.

Mr. Speaker, I commend once again the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. JACKSON), our colleague; and the gentlewoman from Michigan (Ms. KILPATRICK), a member of the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs of the Committee on Appropriations, working with the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. JACKSON) to get additional funding in that bill, in addition to the \$95 million.

Mr. LEWIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Let me just say that I very, very much appreciate the gentleman raising this question this way. We need to absolutely act together as a reflection of the people's body regarding this tragic circumstance in the Sudan. The gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF) unfortunately has been detained elsewhere or I would have him really leading this portion of the discussion.

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

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, let me once again thank the distinguished gentlewoman, the ranking member of the Subcommittee on Labor, Health, and Human Services of the Committee on Appropriations, and the minority leader, the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI), for her leadership on this issue in working closely with the gentleman from Illinois (Speaker HASTERT) to truly advance a bipartisan cause in this House.

Mr. Speaker, if genocide is the deliberate and the systematic destruction of a racial, political, or cultural group, then the deliberate killings of thousands of black Sudanese happening right now certainly qualifies. Sadly, the situation in Sudan is the worst humanitarian crisis in the world today, and the gentleman from Virginia

(Chairman WOLF) is to be congratulated for helping raise the consciousness of this Congress, this country, and indeed this world for immediate action.

Obviously, what is happening in Darfur is a genocide, and the U.S. Government must call it by that name. The term "genocide" not only captures the fundamental characteristics of the Khartoum government's intent and actions in western Sudan; it also invokes clear international obligations.

As parties to the Genocide Convention, all permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, including the United States and more than 130 countries worldwide, are bound to prevent, to stop, and to punish the perpetrators of genocide. Genocide is a unique crime against humanity in international law.

The legal definition of genocide, the international legal definition of the crime of genocide is found in articles 2 and 3 of the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide. Article 2 describes 2 elements of the crime of genocide. The crime must include both elements to be called "genocide." They are, one, the mental element, meaning the "intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group as such"; and, secondly, the physical element, which includes five acts described in sections A, B, C, D, and E; (a), The killing of members of a group; causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; and (e), forcefully transferring children of the group to another group.

When the gentleman from Virginia (Chairman WOLF) returned from Sudan most recently, he approached Members on the floor and he said, in light of this definition, there is a genocide taking place in the Sudan. There is a genocide in the making in Sudan, and we must stop it.

While some may argue that the situation in the Sudan does not rise to the level of genocide, we cannot be so pedantic or myopic or callous to allow legalistic disputes over definitions and terms to prevent us from acting now to prevent rape and slaughter and torture. Providing the highest possible funding level in this conference report is the first step we must take to stop the death and the destruction in Darfur.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentlewoman from Michigan (Ms. KILPATRICK), a member of the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs of the Committee on Appropriations, who has been a tireless leader in this effort.

Ms. KILPATRICK. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. JACKSON), for his leadership on this issue.

As members of the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, Export Financing

and Related Programs of the Committee on Appropriations, I first also want to thank our chairman, the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KOLBE), as well as the gentleman from California (Chairman LEWIS) and the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY), for letting us work together on the problems of the world, or, if you will, the good things about the world. Our Subcommittee on Foreign Operations of the Committee on Appropriations handles much of that. I commend the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. JACKSON) for his leadership on this issue.

The Sudan is an oil-rich country in Africa where the Sudanese government, headquartered in Khartoum, I believe is in cahoots with the Janjaweed who are wreaking havoc on the geographic areas of Darfur in Sudan. As was mentioned by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. JACKSON), the elements of genocide are prevalent. Those five things that are outlined that define genocide, when members of groups are being killed, and they are in Darfur; causes serious bodily harm and injury to any member of that group, and they are doing that as well; causes permanent impairment of mental faculties to the group through drugs, torture, and similar techniques; and they are doing that in that region of the Sudan; and it goes on and on.

I call upon the United Nations, which must act immediately. The Security Council today must meet and act immediately. Secretary Powell has gone and seen the tragedy. Our member, the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF), has gone to see the tragedy. Also, Kofi Annan, Secretary General of the United Nations. We can wait no longer. The Security Council must act. There needs to be an international force in the Sudan today. There is no need for the Janjaweed and the Sudanese government, who we help, by the way, who we also send money to, who we also have our NGOs, our nongovernmental organizations working in Sudan. Let us cut off the funds if they are not going to save the people; we should cut off the funds. These are U.S. tax dollars going into the Sudan; and at the same time, they are wreaking genocidal havoc where more than 1 million Sudanese will die if we do not do something over the next month.

So I call upon the United Nations, Kofi Annan, Secretary General, the Security Council, those 17 countries who make the decisions. And, yes, oil. No one says it, but there is oil, land-rich oil that is in that region of the world. Many international countries are there, like Canada, my neighbor from Michigan, like the EU. We call upon you, in spite of the oil investments, to save the lives of millions of people in Darfur who find themselves being afflicted by genocide in their own government.

I am a mother and I am a grandmother, and I believe that children are the basis for which we live. Raising your own children, it is one struggle

and one thing that you have to do; but it is the grandchildren and generations beyond whom we must leave this great world for.

So again, I commend the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. JACKSON) for his leadership, as well as the gentleman from Arizona (Chairman KOLBE), the gentleman from California (Chairman LEWIS), and the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY.)

□ 1045

The Sudan must not go unanswered. America is the power of the world, and we can determine, America, Mr. President, the United Nations, Mr. Kofi Annan, that we must today stop the genocide. Call it what it is. Use the genocide term and those things that respond to it that the United Nations in an international way can do it. The U.S. could not do it alone, but the G-8 countries and the Security Council of the United Nations must stand up.

Genocide is a horrible thing to happen in our lifetime. Too many people died that we might have alive today to be leaders, to be parents, to be the free world and not speak up one more time.

So, Mr. Speaker and members of the subcommittees, time has passed for many children who are dying as we speak. We have the resources in our 2005 appropriation. We need the leadership today to stand up, to go to the Sudan, as Secretary Powell has already done, to go to the Sudan with the resources that they need. You see, they are having problems even getting food and supplies to the Darfur region where they need them today.

So, Mr. Annan, Mr. President, please rise up. The children are calling.

Mr. LEWIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

By way of a bit of an exchange with the gentlewoman who just spoke but also with my friend, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. JACKSON), is it not interesting we could have a crises like this, a crises like this that affects so many thousands and thousands of lives, men, women and children, a tragic circumstance, and, yet, oftentimes in this country the inane things that we see on the front pages of our newspapers, the New York Times, the Washington Post, et cetera, hardly a word about this crises. Is this not front-page material in this country if we truly have concern about the world? I would hope maybe as we go forward in this discussion today, we might send that message as well.

Ms. KILPATRICK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEWIS of California. I yield to the gentlewoman from Michigan.

Ms. KILPATRICK. Mr. Speaker, absolutely it is front page. Absolutely we have to get it on everyone's radar screen. It is just as important as anything else we might do in the world, because we are talking about human life, because we are talking about people dying hourly as we speak. We must.

And the news media, print, audio, video, all have a responsibility, and the international community, to speak up.

Mr. LEWIS of California. For those who suggest they care about the people of the world, this is more than symbolism. It is very, very real; and I would hope they would begin to pay some attention.

Mr. Speaker, I yield whatever time he may consume to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF) who helped us focus initially in committee on this issue.

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding me this time; and I thank his position, too. I want to thank the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. JACKSON) for offering this and all the comments that have been made.

Senator BROWNBACK and I were in the Sudan, Darfur, a week and a half ago, where we witnessed firsthand the destruction and immense suffering taking place at the hand of the Janjaweed militia and the government of Sudan.

I think members of the subcommittees have to know the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide describes genocide as acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, national, ethnic, racial or religious groups. Specifically, it cited killing members of the group. Thousands of black Africans have been killed. I heard a report yesterday from somebody on the scene that saw a mass grave, 14 black Africans face down, shot in the back of the head.

It also says, causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group. We heard stories of rape and branding. Some women were told that they were being raped because they were African. One woman told us personally that the Janjaweed told her that she was being raped "to create a lighter-skinned baby."

We were given a letter from a group of women who were raped. There were 40-some women. This is what the letter says. "We are 44 raped women. As a result of that savagery, some of us are pregnant, some have aborted, some took out their wombs, and some are still receiving medical treatment. We list the names," and all the names of the women are on the letter, "of the raped women and state that we have high hopes in you and the international community to stand by us, not to forsake us to this tyrannical, brutal and racist regime which wants to eliminate us racially, bearing in mind that 90 percent of our sisters at this camp are widows."

Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about physical destruction in whole, it is clear that the complete eradication of the Darfurian African population will occur if people do not return to their homes. We stood in burned-out villages. The Janjaweed have systematically ensured the villagers can no longer return. Bombing with bombers, Soviet helicopters, Janjaweed come in

on camels and horses, kill the men, rape the women, brand the women, loot the village, put the loot on the helicopters, then torch the place and burn it up.

Darfur is a harsh climate, so when you push people out of the villages, they die; and when people are forced to live in crowded IDP camps, they continue to die.

I believe that after seeing with my own eyes, and Senator BROWNBACK with his own eyes, that there are indications that what is happening in Darfur meets the test of genocide. Now, people may not want to say that, but when you see it, no matter what we call it, genocide, ethnic cleansing, crimes against humanity, people are dying on a massive scale, which is unacceptable, what the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. JACKSON) said.

I think what matters now is action. The United Nations Security Council needs to take immediate steps to end this crisis. A large peacekeeping force made up of troops from the African union is needed to allow Darfurians to return to their homes and to verify that the government of Sudan is disarming the rebels. Without having a verification group in there, there is no way to know if what they say they are doing is really, really being done.

We must remember that the government of Sudan armed the rebels, so we need independent monitors to ensure that they are disarmed. We also need monitors, including forensic experts on the ground, to preserve the evidence for future war crime trials.

In any event, I thank the gentleman from California (Mr. LEWIS) for the time, and I, too, thank the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. JACKSON). And he has been out talking about this for a long time. Every day we delay and hesitate, more people die. We are told in the one IDP camp, Abu Shouk, nine people die every day. We left Abu Shouk several days ago, and by those estimates, if you count, in essence, nine people, so the clock runs in that one camp, and then there are many, many other camps. And Abu Shouk, where all these people died, is probably the best-run camp in that region.

So I think it is important to adopt this and also to put pressure, and I think the Bush administration has done a good job. I think John Danforth has to be very aggressive, though. Up at the U.N., some of our allies are not with us on the Security Council resolution, and I think the more pressure and the more the world faces this and addresses it, you will not be able to say when people write stories about this that we did not know, because we now know. We have seen it with our own eyes. We have talked to people that have seen it, and we now know.

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Let me once again congratulate the gentleman from Virginia (Chairman WOLF) for his outstanding leadership

on this question, including the authorizer, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE), who has been steadfast in this effort.

The gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KOLBE) of the Committee on Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, Export Financing and Related Programs this week will be leading a delegation to Darfur. I will participate in that delegation. I also want to congratulate him for his outstanding leadership for including and fighting for this money in the supplemental bill.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Maryland (Mr. WYNN) who serves on the Committee on Appropriations Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice, State, Judiciary and Related Agencies with great distinction.

Mr. WYNN. Mr. Speaker, let me begin by thanking the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. JACKSON) for his leadership on this issue and allowing me to speak briefly this morning.

Let me also note particularly the role of my Washington area colleague, the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF) who just spoke, who has been an outstanding leader on the issue of human rights throughout his career but particularly on this issue of the crisis in Darfur. He recently visited, he came back and provided all of us with valuable information, along with Senator BROWNBACK, who accompanied him.

And what they said to us is that we have a grave humanitarian crisis in the Darfur. People are dying daily. 30,000 people have died. 350,000 will die. A million people have been displaced. This is an opportunity for the United States to play a pivotal role, which is why I strongly support the motion to instruct conferees to request the maximum amount of U.S. aid possible.

It is sometimes said, but certainly accurately, that America is great because America is good. This is an opportunity for America to do a great deal of good. These people are being victimized in what is clearly a case of genocide. They are being displaced, and we have an opportunity to provide humanitarian aid and to provide a leadership role and a model for the world.

Which brings me to a second point that I would like to make, which is to say that part of what we are trying to do in terms of foreign policy is to suggest to the world that we are not just militarily the most powerful country in the world but that we are morally the most powerful country in the world and a country that believes in leadership. And the way you demonstrate leadership is providing aid to those who need it. This situation in Darfur, clearly a case in which leadership is needed. We can provide that leadership. We can show the world that it is not just a matter of Iraq or our oil interests or other things. We care about humanity. This is the example that we need to set.

I thank the gentleman. I believe that there is a large consensus of support

for this approach for maximizing aid to Darfur, and I just hope we will move this matter as quickly as possible.

Finally, I would add we do need to go aggressively to the U.N. and say this is genocide, call for a declaration of genocide, call for the application of peace-keeping troops so that we can address the security concerns that are here.

Mr. LEWIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he might consume to the gentleman from Arizona (Chairman KOLBE) of the Committee on Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, Export Financing and Related Programs.

Mr. KOLBE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time, and I certainly thank the gentleman from Illinois for bringing this matter to the attention of the body with this motion to instruct.

Both the House and the Senate bills have the same amount of \$95 million, an additional amount beyond what is contained in the foreign operations bill for the humanitarian relief and the implementation of the peace settlement in Sudan. So the motion to instruct here today is simply a way for us to call attention to an enormous problem, and I thank the gentleman from Illinois for doing that.

There is no question that we have a great emergency that has been emerging over time over the last several months in Darfur. I think many of us had hoped that the kind of genocide that took place in Rwanda a few years ago, 10 years ago, was behind us and that we would not see that happen again, but here we are a decade later, and once again with impunity a government has allowed this kind of terrible tragedy to ensue and this kind of genocide to take place in western Sudan.

The world needs to understand this, the world needs to know about what is going on, and the world needs to speak out. Those of us who have that responsibility as lawmakers, as policymakers in the Congress, in the Executive Branch, in world bodies such as the United Nations, in capitals around the world, need to be speaking out about this issue, and this is an opportunity for us to do that.

As the gentleman from Illinois suggested, later this week we will be going to Sudan, to the Darfur region, in order to try to see firsthand the relief efforts that are taking place there. We will also see the efforts to try to stop the ongoing attacks against the people in Darfur by the renegade groups that continue to cause the great death and destruction of property, the loss of lives, the loss of communities, the increase in the misplaced people, and displaced people around the region. All of this can only stop if we provide the kind of assistance that is needed in that region and if the world calls on the Sudan government to provide protection for the people living in that region so that these kind of unwarranted attacks do not take place.

There has been just an enormous amount of brutality that has taken place over there, rapes, murders, killing, people that have lost their homes, lost their livelihoods, people that are starving to death. We in this world, in this Congress, need to take note of that; and we need to call an end to that.

□ 1100

So I am really pleased that the chairman of this committee has accepted the amendment which has the \$95 million, which will be the first money that will be made available because this legislation is likely to be the first enacted into law.

Mr. LEWIS of California. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KOLBE. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. LEWIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I asked for this time to simply express my deep appreciation to the chairman of the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations of the Committee on Appropriations, my chairman, for his leadership on this issue. The responsiveness of both the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KOLBE) and the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF), as well as the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. JACKSON), is very important and the reflection of the reality that from just once in a while the House gets its act together and recognizes that human problems are very real.

There is no partisan divide on an issue like this, but rather a concern about the picture, the reality of starving children and whole families being wiped out senselessly. We are going to respond as a country, and it is very important that we come together like this. I appreciate the gentleman's leadership.

Mr. KOLBE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his comments, and I want to say I appreciate his leadership in this by allowing the money to be added to the defense bill because I think it is of such vital importance. I think many of us are haunted by the fact that decades ago we stood aside when genocide took place in Cambodia. Before that, of course, we had the Holocaust in Europe. And just a decade ago we had the genocide in Rwanda, and now we are seeing this again in Darfur in Sudan. We are convinced and I think committed to making sure that we do everything in our power to make sure this genocide does not continue. And that is why we are here today with this resolution. And I am very grateful to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF), who has already made his visit there and called the attention of the world to what is happening over there. We hope with our visit later this week that we will be able to do the same.

Once again, I want to thank the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. JACKSON) for bringing up this motion, and I do hope the House will consider it and adopt it.

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Let me take this time also to thank the subcommittee chairman for the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations of the Committee on Appropriations, the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KOLBE), for his extraordinary leadership on this question. The gentleman knows that I have been critical of the committee in the past for its historic support of Africa and related issues; but the subcommittee, recognizing a very serious crisis under the chairman's leadership, has really stepped forward. The gentleman is taking a delegation, which I am anticipating this coming Thursday, to Darfur, Sudan. We wish him Godspeed, and we wish the delegation a safe trip. I thank the chairman for his leadership.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3½ minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. RUSH).

Mr. RUSH. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my colleague from Illinois (Mr. JACKSON) for not only yielding time to me this morning but also for his outstanding leadership that he has displayed on a number of issues that come before this Congress and certainly on this issue which we are addressing today. I want to also acknowledge and express my appreciation to the gentleman from California (Mr. LEWIS) and the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KOLBE) and the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF) for their outstanding leadership on this important matter.

Mr. Speaker, I rise for two reasons today. One, I rise in support of this motion to instruct the Defense appropriations to support the highest level of funding for the humanitarian crisis in the Sudan. Secondly, Mr. Speaker, I rise to talk this morning just for a moment on shame.

Mr. Speaker, what is going on in the Sudan right now is a tragedy. It is unconscionable, and it is a shame. Mr. Speaker, what we have today in genocide is a shame. It is a shame, Mr. Speaker, when we get on this floor and speak in the highest of our voices, cry out from this place about terrorism; and yet, Mr. Speaker, we cannot and do not commit or do not connect terrorism with genocide.

Mr. Speaker, terrorism is genocide and genocide is terrorism. It is a shame, Mr. Speaker, that nearly 30,000 Sudanese have lost their lives and more are dying on a day-to-day basis and there is no immediate action taken on our part. It is a shame.

Mr. Speaker, the international community cannot do this all by themselves. They need our help, the help of this Congress, the help of this administration, to stop these killings.

Mr. Speaker, 10 years ago this Congress sat idly by while hundreds of thousands of Rwandans were killed and slaughtered in Rwanda. That was a shame. Sadly, it seems that history is repeating itself. And if we sit by and allow the same kind of genocide to take place in the Sudan as took place in Rwanda, that would be a shame. I cannot, Mr. Speaker, in good conscience as a Member of this Congress

sit on the sidelines and not raise my voice and raise the voices of the people in my district to deal with and to discuss this tragedy. We have a moral obligation to come together, to send a message to Sudan and to the rest of the world that genocide and terrorism go hand in hand, that genocide is terrorism and that terrorism is genocide.

Mr. Speaker, we cannot allow the Sudanese killings, we cannot allow the blatant killing of innocent lives in the Sudan to continue. We must act now. We must act now. Mr. Speaker, to do anything less would be a shame, a disgrace, a shame, and a shame.

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

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume. We have no further speakers, and I am prepared to close.

Mr. Speaker, I want to recognize the tireless work of the chairman of the Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice, State, Judiciary and Related Agencies of the Committee on Appropriation, the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF), who has just returned from the Sudan. I wanted to thank the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KOLBE), the chairman of the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, Export Financing and Related Program, and the ranking member, the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY), for their outstanding work on this issue. I want to thank the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE), who has been a tireless fighter for justice in Sudan.

I want to thank the Subcommittee on Defense chairman, the gentleman from California (Mr. LEWIS), and the ranking member, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. MURTHA); and I want to thank the Committee on Appropriations chairman, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. YOUNG), and the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY), the ranking member, for all of their support and efforts.

Mr. Speaker, I ask for an "aye" vote on the motion to instruct.

Mrs. LOWEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this motion to instruct.

By now we have all seen the pictures and heard the stories that flow daily out of Darfur and Chad. Innocent men brutally murdered. Women and girls raped and mutilated. Families put on forced marches away from their villages, left with no food or shelter.

We have heard the statistics. According to the World Health Organization, 10,000 people will die this month in Darfur if nothing is done. We are looking at the possibility of hundreds of thousands of deaths, from disease, starvation, violence and, ultimately from the inaction of the global community.

"Never Again" is a phrase we have all heard before. We have all said it before. It is one of the most powerful expressions of the natural human inclination to stop suffering, to end the death and destruction that stems from senseless hatred and indifference to human life. Never again will we let 6 million Jews perish under the noses of the civilized world. Never again will we let Rwandans be rounded up and indiscriminately killed because of their

tribal affiliation. Never again will we allow ethnic cleansing in the Balkans.

My colleagues, there is problem with the phrase "never again." It is usually said after the violence is over—as a rallying cry against history repeating itself. We have seen, time and time again, that history does repeat itself, and it is simply not enough to say that we will take care of it next time. We need to end the genocide in Darfur now.

What will that take? It will take more than the tentative involvement of the United States and the international community. It will take the pressure we have not yet seen to get the Sudanese Government to stop denying a problem exists, acknowledge the role it has played, and take concrete actions to stop the brutality and save the lives of the people of Darfur. It will take more than 300 African Union peacekeepers to end the Janjaweed militia's genocide campaign.

The funding included in the Defense bill for relief in Darfur and Chad, combined with the money we will soon consider in the Foreign Operations bill, is a good start. But it is just a start. Money will help feed people if they can access that food. Money will help shelter people if they are not being driven out of the squatter camps. Money will help protect children from violence and exploitation only if relief workers can safely access refugee camps.

We should be proud of what we are doing today, but not too proud. If we are serious about "never again," the United States must lead the way, using all bilateral and multilateral diplomatic tools at our disposal, to stop the Darfur genocide in its tracks.

I urge my colleagues to support this motion.

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Mr. Speaker, 10 years ago, as bloated corpses floated down Rwanda's rivers, the international community debated whether the atrocities being committed in Rwanda fit the definition of "genocide." By the time the world stopped debating, it was too late. Millions of men, women and children had been killed. The failure of the world to act in Rwanda remains a stain on our collective conscience.

We must learn from the tragic mistakes of the past. Today, 1,000 miles north of Rwanda, in the Darfur region of Sudan, more than 30,000 people have already been killed by the Sudanese military's aerial bombardments and the atrocities being committed by their ruthless proxies, the Janjaweed militia. Gang rapes, the branding of raped women, amputations, and summary killings are widespread. More than a million people have been driven from their homes as villages have been burned and crops destroyed. The Sudanese Government has deliberately blocked the delivery of food, medicine and other humanitarian assistance. More than 160,000 Darfurians have become refugees in neighboring Chad. Conditions are ripe for the spread of fatal diseases such as measles, cholera, dysentery, meningitis and malaria. The U.S. Agency for International Development estimates that 350,000 people are likely to die in the coming months and that the death toll could reach more than a million unless the violence stops and the Sudanese Government immediately grants international aid groups better access to Darfur.

Here in Washington and at the United Nations headquarters in New York, many officials are again debating whether this unfolding tragedy constitutes genocide, ethnic cleansing or something else. This time let us not debate

until it is too late to stop this human catastrophe. Let us not wait until thousands more children are killed before we summon the will to stop this horror. America and the international community have a moral duty to act. The United States and the 130 other signatories to the Genocide Convention also have a legal obligation to "undertake to prevent and punish" the crime of genocide.

The Convention defines genocide as actions undertaken "with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, as such." The actions include "deliberately inflicting on members of the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part." By all accounts, including the reports of U.N. fact finders, it is the African peoples in the Darfur region who have been targeted for destruction by the Khartoum-backed Arab death squads.

In the middle of an unfolding crisis like that in Darfur, there will always be debate over whether what is happening constitutes genocide. But it is important to remember that the Genocide Convention does not require absolute proof of genocidal intentions before the international community is empowered to intervene. The Convention would offer no protection to innocent victims if we had to wait until there were tens of thousands more corpses before we act. A key part of the Genocide Convention is prevention, not just punishment after the fact.

The United States has already done more than any other nation to call attention to and respond to this tragedy. But our efforts to date have not brought an end to the growing crisis. We must take additional measures now.

The May 25 Security Council statement expressing "grave concern" about the situation in Darfur does not provide any authority for international action. The United States should immediately call for an emergency meeting of the U.N. Security Council and introduce and call for a vote on a resolution that demands that the Government of Sudan take the following steps: First, allow international relief groups and human rights groups free and secure access to the Darfur region, including access to the camps where thousands are huddled in wretched conditions; second, the Government of Sudan must immediately terminate its support for the Janjaweed and dispatch its forces to disarm them; third, the Sudanese Government must allow the more than one million displaced persons to return home. The resolution must include stiff sanctions if the Sudanese Government refuses to meet these conditions and it must authorize the deployment of peacekeeping forces to Darfur to protect civilians and individuals from CARE and other humanitarian organizations seeking to provide humanitarian assistance.

It is critical that U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan exhibit strong leadership on Darfur. Mukesh Kapila, until recently the top U.N. official in Sudan has been outspoken in sounding the alarm. But Kofi—I was pleased to join with Congressman WOLF and other members of Congress on June 4 in urging Secretary General Annan to go to Sudan to address the crisis there. I am encouraged that he will finally be going next week. However, this visit must be more than an expression of concern. Secretary General Annan must make it clear that if the Sudanese Government does not cooperate fully in stopping the killings and destruction, he will push for immediate international

sanctions. He must let the Sudanese Government know that the welcome progress made in reaching an accommodation with the South will not prevent the world from taking action to stop the horror in Darfur. The U.N. ignored warnings of mass murder a decade ago in Rwanda; it must not stand by again.

We should not allow other members of the U.N. Security Council to engage in endless negotiations and delay a vote on the resolution. In this case, every day that goes by without action means more lives lost. Let's vote on the resolution. If the rest of the world refuses to authorize collective action, shame on them. Failure to pass such a resolution would not represent a failure of American leadership; it would be a terrible blot on the world's conscience.

Whether or not the United Nations acts, the United States should take steps on its own. We should make it clear that if the Sudanese Government does not meet the demands in the proposed resolution, the United States will impose travel restrictions on Sudanese officials and move to freeze their assets. Even apart from U.N. action, we can immediately urge other nations to join us in taking these and other measures.

I commend Secretary of State Colin Powell for his decision to travel to Sudan next week and visit the Darfur region. It is critical that the Secretary's visit do more than simply call attention to the tragedy unfolding there. He must make it clear that the failure of Khartoum to fully cooperate in ending the destruction and killings will result in a concerted American effort to punish the Sudanese Government and harness international support to intervene in Darfur.

We must not look back on Darfur 10 years from now and decry the fact that the world failed to act to stop the crime of genocide. Rwanda and other genocides should have taught us that those who knowingly fail to confront such evil are themselves complicit through inaction. We are all God's children. These are crimes against humanity. Let us respond to this unfolding human disaster with the urgency that it demands.

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

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. OSE). Without objection, the previous question is ordered on the motion.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion to instruct offered by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. JACKSON).

The motion to instruct was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the Chair appoints the following conferees: Messrs. LEWIS of California, YOUNG of Florida, HOBSON, BONILLA, NETHERCUTT, CUNNINGHAM, FRELINGHUYSEN, TIAHRT, WICKER, MURTHA, DICKS, SABO, VISCLOSKEY, MORAN of Virginia, and OBEY.

There was no objection.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. BONILLA. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members

may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the further consideration of H.R. 4766, and that I may include tabular material on the same.

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

There was no objection.

AGRICULTURE, RURAL DEVELOPMENT, FOOD AND DRUG ADMINISTRATION, AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2005

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 710 and rule XVIII, the Chair declares the House in the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill, H.R. 4766.

□ 1110

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 further consideration of the bill (H.R. 4766) making appropriations for Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2005, and for other purposes, with Mr. BASS in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. When the Committee of the Whole House rose on Monday, July 12, 2004, all time for general debate had expired.

Pursuant to the rule, the bill shall be considered for amendment under the 5-minute rule.

The amendment printed in House Report 108-591 may be offered only by a Member designated in the report and, pursuant to the order of the House of today, may be offered anytime in the reading of the bill, shall be considered read, debatable for the time specified in the report, equally divided and controlled by the proponent and an opponent, and shall not be subject to amendment.

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 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Those amendments will be considered read.

The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

H.R. 4766

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the following sums are appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies programs for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2005, and for other purposes, namely:

TITLE I

AGRICULTURAL PROGRAMS

PRODUCTION, PROCESSING, AND MARKETING OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

For necessary expenses of the Office of the Secretary of Agriculture, \$5,185,000: *Provided,*

That not to exceed \$11,000 of this amount shall be available for official reception and representation expenses, not otherwise provided for, as determined by the Secretary.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. HYDE

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

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will designate the amendment.

The text of the amendment is as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. HYDE:

At the end of the bill (before the short title), insert the following:

SEC. 759. Section 501 of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 (7 U.S.C. 1737) is amended—

(1) in subsection (b)(1), by inserting “Doug Bereuter and” before “John Ogonowski”; and

(2) in the heading, by inserting “**DOUG BEREUTER AND**” before “**JOHN OGOONOWSKI**”.

MODIFICATION TO AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. HYDE

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment made in order by the rule be modified in the form at the desk.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the modification.

The Clerk read as follows:

Modification to amendment offered by Mr. HYDE:

At the end of the bill (before the short title), insert the following:

SEC. 759. Section 501 of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 (7 U.S.C. 1737) is amended—

(1) in subsection (b)(1), by inserting “and Doug Bereuter” after “John Ogonowski”; and

(2) in the heading, by inserting “**AND DOUG BEREUTER AND**” after “**JOHN OGOONOWSKI**”.

Mr. HYDE (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the modification be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

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

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Pursuant to House Resolution 710, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) and the gentlewoman from Ohio (Ms. KAPTUR) each will control 10 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE).

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

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment to the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954.

Mr. Chairman, this is to honor our retiring colleague, the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. BEREUTER), by adding his name to the formal title to the Farmer-to-Farmer title. The gentleman's tireless efforts to implement the John Ogonowski Farmer-to-Farmer Program have been a driving force in making this a successful program. As the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. BEREUTER) retires from Congress after 26 years of service, and 21 years on the Committee on International Relations, I ask that we express our admiration in