#### FRANK R. WOLF

10TH DISTRICT, VIRGINIA

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# Congress of the United States House of Representatives

241 CANNON BUILDING WASHINGTON, DC 20515-4610 (202) 225-5136

13873 PARK CENTER ROAD SUITE 130 HERNDON, VA 20171 (703) 709-5800 (800) 945-9653 (IN STATE)

110 North Cameron Street Winchester, VA 22601 (540) 667-0990 (800) 850-3463 (In State)

www.house.gov/wolf/

# Observations by U.S. Rep. Frank R. Wolf of Virginia Visit to Central Africa and Sudan

This report provides details of my trip to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda, Burundi and Sudan January 6-14, 2001. I also passed through Uganda and Kenya.

I visited the Congo to help better understand the cause of a raging civil war that has resulted in more than 1.7 million deaths since 1998, according to the International Rescue Committee, and to explore what, if any, role the United States may be able to play in bringing an end to the conflict. I was there less than a week before Congolese President Laurent Kabila was assassinated. I met with him on January 8 in the presidential palace.

I visited Rwanda to learn more about the reconciliation process the country is going through following the genocide of more than 800,000 ethnic Tutsis in 1994. My trip to Burundi was for similar reasons. Between 1993 and 2000, violence between Hutu and Tutsi ethnic factions in Burundi has left more than 250,000 people dead and created hundreds of thousands of refugees.

My visit to Sudan was my fourth in 11 years. Over the past two decades, a civil war pitting the Khartoum government against black Christians and others in the southern half of the country has cost more than 2 million lives in war and famine-related deaths. Millions of others have been displaced. Regrettably, the situation in Sudan is no better today than in 1989, the first time I traveled to the war-torn nation. The Khartoum regime continues to persecute members of different religious minorities--Christian, Muslim and animist--under the auspices of Sharia law.

I have closely followed events in Africa since being elected to Congress. My first trip to the continent was in 1984 when I went to Ethiopia to witness the heart-breaking famine which resulted in the death of hundreds of thousands of

women and children. I also have been to Algeria, Benin, Egypt, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Sierra Leone and Somalia.



A Rwandan girl shyly poses in a resettlement village near Kigali.

Life in many parts of Africa is not easy. Most of the countries I have visited are some of the poorest in the world. Death, famine, disease and pain are a constant, as millions struggle just to survive another day. A recent report by the United Nations says that 180 million people in sub-Saharan Africa are undernourished. Some children go days without a meal. AIDS is reaching epidemic proportions. Seventy percent of the world's AIDS cases are in Africa where more than 16,000 people a day are being infected. More than 2 million Africans died of AIDS in 2000. There are 16 African countries where more than 10 percent of the adult population is infected with AIDS.

People in many of these countries desperately need an end to the years of civil strife, terrorism and brutality that they endure on a daily basis. Babies are dying of starvation. Children are being captured and sold into slavery. Women are being raped. This needs to stop. Now.

Serving as a member of Congress has given me the opportunity to observe human rights violations and religious freedom abuses throughout the world. It also provides me with an opportunity to work to relieve them. I am motivated by my faith. Scripture makes it clear to me that there is an obligation to speak out on behalf of those being persecuted. In Ecclesiastes 4:1, it says "so I returned, and considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun: and behold the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter; and on the side of their oppressors was power; but they had no comforter."

In America, we have been blessed with freedom and opportunity. In Luke

12, it says "for unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required: and to whom men have committed much, of him they will ask more."

The incoming Bush Administration has a unique opportunity to make a difference in Africa. Throughout my trip, the constant refrain I heard was that the United States just needed to show it cared. No one asked for American troops to be deployed. They just want America to send a signal that it will begin to focus on the plight of Africa before another generation of young people is lost to civil war, famine, disease and AIDS.

America has a rich history of reaching out to bring peace and stability to communities around the world. We have made a difference in Northern Ireland. We have worked to stop the violence among ethnic and religious factions in Eastern Europe. We are attempting to bring peace to the Middle East. It is time to focus on Africa.

# **CENTRAL AFRICA**

The Congo is a ticking time bomb. Precious little time is left before it explodes. Since 1998, soldiers from perhaps as many as nine African nations have been battling in the Congo. Today, six nations--Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi, Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia--have troops in the Congo. The war is often called Africa's First World War and its ingredients are a volatile mix of social upheaval, economic insecurity, power, greed and revenge.

The Congo has a long and troubled past. One of the first modern human rights crusades was sparked by King Leopold's brutal repression of the Congolese in the late 1800s. Hundreds of thousands of Congolese were tortured, raped and murdered during his reign. Soldiers thought nothing of cutting off the hands and arms of Congolese as a form of intimidation. Colonization was no better. When the Belgians left in the 1960s, the Congo was a wreck. Few Congolese were permitted to have contact with the outside world, and less than 30 had college degrees. The country was ill-prepared to govern itself. During the Cold War, the West used the Congo as a pawn to prevent communism from getting a toehold in Central Africa. The nation's longest-serving African leader, Mobutu Sese Seko, enriched himself through corruption and by cannibalizing the nation. He was swept from power in a 1997 coup. Kabila then assumed control of the country.

The Congo is large--about the size of the United States east of the Mississippi River--and endowed with vast potential wealth. Diamonds, gold, copper, silver, cobalt, uranium, coal and timber are all in abundance in the Congo. Yet, few people share in this wealth. The average family lives on less than \$200 a year. What is mined is either smuggled out of the country or controlled by the armies of other nations. Businesses are leery to invest in the Congo because of the war. As the Congolese infrastructure crumbles--and the economy shrinks--hunger increases. The government has resorted to printing new Congolese franc bills to finance the war, bringing inflation up above 500 percent.



Waiting at the Congo-Rwanda border.

The reasons for war in the Congo are complex. Long-festering civil unrest is one factor. Control of the nation's vast natural resources is another. Virtually every country involved in the conflict now controls significant portions of the Congo. The 1994 genocide in Rwanda, where nearly 1 million people were savagely murdered at the behest of ethnic Hutu extremists and Interahamwe forces, however, appears to have been the spark. Many of those responsible for the genocide fled to eastern Congo and continue today to carry out acts of violence against the Rwandan population from just across the border. The present Rwandan government has twice sent its army into the Congo in attempts to bring to justice the perpetrators of the genocide. It argues its continued presence is necessary to thwart continued attacks by Hutu extremist forces, many of whom are the same former Rwandan army and militia forces (ex-FAR) and Interahamwe who incited the genocide. It is alleged by some that Rwandan soldiers also are involved in acts of violence and plunder against the Congolese.

While there is no clear-cut solution to the ongoing crisis, one thing is apparent: the toll on human life has been horrific. The war has caused 1.7 million deaths and the displacement of more than 1.1 million people. Only a fraction of those deaths can be attributed to acts of violence. A large number are due to the collapse of the nation's health infrastructure. Medical care for mothers and young children is grossly inadequate. Vaccination programs have ceased and many health

professionals have fled the region. Clinics have been looted or destroyed by the warring groups.

Sadly, these figures are based only on areas where outside groups have been able to gain access. There are huge portions of the Congo where no outside assistance has been able to be provided since nearly the beginning of the war. Hundreds of thousands of Congolese are literally cut off from the world.

I saw and heard first-hand what effect the war is having on the Congo. After meeting with the late-President Kabila and members of his cabinet in Kinshasa on January 8, I traveled nearly 1,000 miles by plane to the towns of Goma and Bukavu in eastern Congo to meet with opposition groups, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), religious leaders and Congolese citizens. Life for the average Congolese is not good in either place. Both are governed by Rwandan-backed rebel groups whose leadership, in my opinion, does not have the support of the local Congolese. Everywhere you look there are armed soldiers, most of whom are young, ill-trained boys carrying antiquated automatic weapons. There are few hospitals or schools. There is little potable water, and children are lucky to get one meal a day. Most Congolese have stopped trying to grow food. If their crops aren't looted in the field by soldiers, they are robbed on the way to the market by bandits or rebels.



Attending to a Congolese woman attacked on the way to a market. (Photo provided by local Congolese)

Women live in fear. Soldiers-regardless to whom they owe their allegiance--often treat them as prey. I heard horrific stories of rape, abuse and torture. Women are being raped in front of their husbands and children. One woman had her hands cut off after being raped; she now has a child she cannot care for. We were told that just two days before I arrived in Bukavu, a woman was raped in the marketplace at 10 a.m. and no one intervened. Priests are targets, too. At least six have been killed in eastern Congo since 1998.

The spread of AIDS is a real concern. Sub-Saharan Africa has the

highest HIV infection rate in the world. Upwards of 50 percent of the Zimbabwean troops fighting in the Congo have AIDS, and many have been accused of raping women indiscriminately.

The war in the Congo must be brought to an end. What started as an internal rebellion has grown to be much more. It is as much a battle over diamonds, copper, cobalt and other natural resources as it is a civil war. Two of the neighboring countries--Rwanda and Uganda--backing rebel forces against Kabila's government have even fought each other several times within the Congo's borders. Neither side has a reasonable explanation for the battles, but many assume it's for control of the diamond mines and other minerals near the city of Kisangani, which is more than 300 miles from either country's border. Zimbabwe, an ally of the Kabila government, is reported to control the largest diamond mine in the Congo.

The warring parties signed a peace agreement, the Lusaka Accords, in 1999. It has yet to be implemented, and may never be. It calls for a cease-fire and the deployment of 5,000 United Nations troops in a nation about half the size of the

United States. In comparison, there are 40,000 NATO troops in the Balkans and they have a difficult time keeping the peace in an area roughly the size of my congressional district. Soldiers from Rwanda, Uganda, Zimbabwe, Angola and the other nations fighting within the Congo's borders must be made to leave. Some of the neighboring nations have real security concerns, particularly along their borders, but too much of the fighting is taking place deep inside the Congo. It is time for the outside forces to retreat within their own borders. Both the Rwandans and the Ugandans say they want to withdraw. They should be encouraged--and helped--to do so quickly. Until all outside forces pull out, the Congo will continue to spiral out of control.



Automatic weapons are prevalent in both Goma and Bukavu.

#### **RWANDA**

Over the course of 100 days in the spring of 1994, more than 800,000 Tutsis--and moderate Hutus--were systematically

murdered in Rwanda as part of an ethnic genocide conducted by extremist ethnic Hutus who were in control of the government. Amazingly, the world stood by and watched.

While the genocide is now over, the memory is still fresh. The first place I visited in Rwanda was the Murambi Technical School. More than 50,000 people were slaughtered in the villages near the school during the genocide. Inside 18 of



Contorted skeletons at genocide site in Rwanda.

in the massacre. The killing was initiated by the government in an effort to eliminate the "cockroaches," Hutu slang for their ethnic enemy Tutsis.

The genocide that nearly wiped out an entire ethnic group also devastated the country's economy. By the time the killing ended in the summer of 1994 and

a new government took over, inflation had risen 64 percent and per capita income had declined to \$80. There was no power in Kigali, the country's capital. No money. No food. No hospitals. No

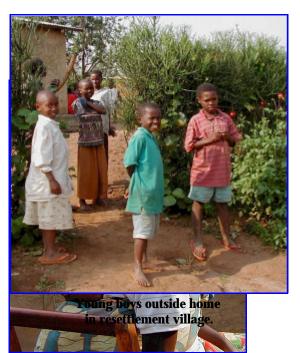
the school's classrooms are the twisted skeletons of those massacred. Exhumed from mass graves, they rest on wooden tables. Fear is frozen on their faces. Some are missing limbs, obviously hacked off during the brutal savagery. Others have arms over their heads, trying to protect themselves from their killers. One room is filled with hundreds of skulls. No one was spared. Infants. Young children. Women. Men. All hacked to death with machetes. The killing was not just carried out by soldiers. It was done by mothers, fathers, brothers, sisters. Sixyear-olds killed six-year-olds. Neighbors killed neighbors. It was reported that even local clergy took part



Skulls, bones fill room at what was the Murambi Technical School.

schools. Already one of poorest nations in the world, the new government faced long odds. Remarkably, the country got back on its feet in an incredibly short period of time, and until last year had enjoyed remarkable growth.

Life in Rwanda, however, is far from perfect. While the new government is incrementally moving toward a democratic society, there are hundreds of



Mother and child at a resettlement village where Hutus and Tutsis live side-by-side.

thousands of Rwandans just fighting to survive. Thousands of refugees have poured back and forth across Rwanda's borders over the last several years and the government is deeply involved in the ongoing war in the Congo. Some say more than 28 percent of the nation's budget is being spent to finance the fighting in the Congo.

The NGO community has been pushed to the limit to provide the necessary resources for the millions of refugees and displaced people in Rwanda. The spread of AIDS and other diseases is a growing problem because of the lack of proper health care and education. There

are few schools because thousands of teachers were killed in the genocide. More than 60,000 households are headed by children who were orphaned during the 1994 massacre. Suffering

and pain is still very much a part of everyday life in Rwanda.

While I was in Rwanda, I met with President Paul Kagame and senior members of his government. I had a meeting with members of Parliament to discuss how the U.S. Congress works. I met with members of the NGO community and had an extremely interesting meeting with a group of people who are deeply involved in the reconciliation process.

I also visited a United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

resettlement village outside of Kigali where Tutsi and Hutu families live side-byside. The UNHCR has helped build more than 100,000 houses in Rwanda since the war ended in 1994. It has helped rebuild schools and health clinics. The repatriation of more than 3 million Rwandans is said to be the largest ever. UNHCR has done an outstanding job dealing with the ongoing crisis in Rwanda.

UNHCR's work is almost done, which presents an entirely new problem. While Rwanda is no longer viewed as an "emergency" situation, it is far from being considered a stable society. There are numerous NGOs to help in emergency situations and countless others to help in the development phase. It's the gap in the middle that is troubling. Something needs to be put in place to ensure that there is no slipping back. Perhaps it is time for the Peace Corps to return to Rwanda.

The reconciliation process in Rwanda is moving forward. The long-standing hatred between ethnic groups has somewhat subsided, and there are intermarriages again between Tutsis and Hutus. Nevertheless, major hurdles have yet to be crossed. More than 130,000 Hutus sit in jail waiting to be tried for their crimes. The process has been painfully slow. Few trials have been held since 1994. In order for the healing and reconciliation to be complete, there must be justice.

While Rwanda has a legitimate right to defend its borders, it needs to pull its troops out of the Congo, as do the other African nations that have troops deployed in the Congo. There will be no peace until all foreign troops are removed.

#### **BURUNDI**

I visited Burundi on January 11 primarily to participate in a Prayer Breakfast. Like its northern neighbor Rwanda, Burundi has experienced ethnic violence between Hutu and Tutsi factions in recent years. In its wake, 250,000 have died and hundreds of thousands of refugees have been created. Although many refugees have returned home from neighboring countries, continued ethnic strife has forced others to leave.

The Prayer Breakfast was unique in that the group was made up of both

Tutsis and Hutus. The group started with just two people praying for reconciliation. It now has more than 100 members and meets on a weekly basis. The spirit at the breakfast was encouraging. It was fascinating to hear about the relationships that are now being formed between members of the two ethnic groups. I am told that the prayer group is directly responsible for helping forge relationships within the Burundian Parliament.

In addition to speaking at the Prayer Breakfast, I met with members of Parliament and President Pierre Buyoya.

#### **SUDAN**

The last leg of my trip was to the town of Yei in southern Sudan. This was my fourth trip to Sudan since 1989. The people of Sudan have suffered too long.

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, Rwanda and Somalia combined. Most of the dead are civilians--women and children--who died from starvation and disease. The Committee on Conscience of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum has issued a genocide warning for Sudan.

I wanted to visit Yei because the Khartoum government last November committed one of the most heinous acts of violence in the war, bombing a busy marketplace in the middle of the afternoon.

Nineteen people where killed and 52 were injured when 14 bombs were rolled out of the back of a Soviet-made Antonov plane on November 20, 2000. No one was spared. Children. Women. Young. Old. I have seen a video that was taken minutes after the bombing. The marketplace was packed. People had no where to hide. Some of those killed had their limbs blown off. Women and children were screaming as they witnessed the carnage.

Yei is hundreds of miles from the front lines. It is not a military target, yet almost on a daily basis--and often several times a day-a high-altitude Antonov bomber passes over



Bombing victim in Yei, southern Sudan. (Photo courtesy Oliver Modi)

the town. People are terrified by the bombing runs. You can see it in their eyes; hear it in their voices. Ask anyone what concerns them most and the universal refrain is "the Antonov bomber."

No one knows where the bombs are being dropped because the plane is beyond eyesight. Sometimes the planes just fly overhead to play mind games with the residents of the town. Other times, homemade-bombs are rolled out the back of the plane, randomly falling from the sky. They have hit homes, churches, hospitals. Some of the bombs are 55-gallon oil drums packed with dynamite and nails. The planes fly morning, noon and night.

An Antonov flew over the town the last morning (January 13) I was in Yei. Panic immediately set in. The psychological warfare is taking its toll. People are afraid to build houses because they may be bombed the next day. Why try to raise a crop when it could be destroyed before it is harvested? Peddlers have dug foxholes under their tables in the marketplace so if a plane flies over they can



Makeshift bomb shelter in Yei.

jump into the hole and pray that the bombs fall somewhere else. The bombing runs have become an obstacle to everyday life in Yei and throughout southern Sudan.

Here is a sampling of some of the other targets just this year:

January 7 - Twelve bombs were dropped on the town of Mundri; six were dropped on Kotobi. No known casualties.

January 8 - Several bombs were dropped on the community of Lanyi, close to the town of Lui. Homes destroyed.

January 12 - A bombing raid in Upper Nile killed three people.

Last year, nearly 100 innocent Sudanese were killed in bombings, according to figures complied by several NGOs in southern Sudan.

The bombs have hit civilian locations, including relief agency compounds, and convoys. Getting food and supplies through southern Sudan is difficult enough because of the deplorable conditions of the roads. It took us nearly four hours to travel just 40 miles from the border of Uganda to Yei.

The actions of the Khartoum government cannot be tolerated any longer. It is a brutal, repressive regime. Government-sponsored militias torch houses, loot property, and rape and murder with impunity. Civilian food production and supply lines are attacked. Livestock is destroyed. International relief is obstructed. In 1998, this strategy caused a famine in southern Sudan that endangered millions and killed tens of thousands.

Numerous independent human rights groups and the United Nations have documented the Sudanese government's egregious human rights abuses in both the north and the south. Political opponents of the regime are arrested and sent to so-called "ghost houses" where they are tortured. Children are snatched from the street and taken to remote camps where they are forced to change their name and their religion.

Then there is the issue of slavery. The government has done nothing to stop it. In fact, I suspect it is quietly supporting it. Slave traders from the north regularly sweep down into villages destabilized by fighting and kidnap women and children who are then sold for use as domestic servants or concubines. This is real-life chattel slavery. Today, in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

A new factor worsens the threat of genocide: oil. In 1999, the Khartoum government began earning hundreds of millions of dollars from oil exports. The hard currency is financing weapons for the war. The more oil produced, the more weapons purchased, the more innocent civilians killed. The Khartoum government has doubled its spending on arms since it began exporting oil. Helicopter gun ships



Mother and son outside of marketplace in Yei.

are being used in a vicious scorched earth policy to wipe out ethnic groups such as the Dinka and Nuer from land under which the oil sits. The purchase of weapons like these will only cause increased suffering as the Khartoum government will be able to better target civilians, food and relief convoys, and outside relief organizations. It also will allow the government to project force even farther into the south.

Another issue is child "soldiers." In Sudan and other places throughout Africa, children are either being pressed into service or volunteering in hopes of getting a meal and a uniform. I met one soldier in southern Sudan who joined the fighting at age 11. He is 14 now. Many of the soldiers I saw in the



Victim of Nov. 20, 2000, bombing of marketplace in Yei.

Congo looked very young.



Rep. Wolf talks to 14-year-old soldier. He joined the army at age 11.

While I was in Yei I met with the civilian leaders of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) and the military leaders of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA). Both of these groups have the support of the community. I met with religious leaders and with NGO's.

I walked the streets of the town, talking to men, women

and children. I visited the town's hospital, where the staff is doing outstanding work with extremely limited resources. I talked to a survivor of the November marketplace bombing. He lost his left arm just below the elbow and sustained serious shrapnel injuries in his legs. He is still recovering in the hospital. I saw

the crude bomb shelter where several young children suffocated last year when a bomb fell on it. I toured a new agricultural center where the Sudanese are being taught new and better ways to get the greatest yield from their crops. I saw new skills, such as leather working and wood working, that are being taught in the town's education center.

In the last meeting I had in Yei, a young minister pleaded with me to help bring peace to his region. He told me that he was born in the war and was afraid that he was going to die in the war.

# RECOMMENDATIONS General

• The Bush Administration should move quickly to show an interest in Africa. A presidential task force should be created to study Africa. It should be made up of experts both in and out of government who have both an expertise and an interest in Africa. Members of Congress, such as Rep. Ed Royce, Rep. Tony Hall, Rep. Don Payne, Sen. Sam Brownback, and Sen. Bill Frist, all of whom have a great deal of knowledge about Africa and care deeply about its future, should be on the panel.

The panel should make a top-to-bottom review of what policy the United States should take toward Africa, particulary sub-Saharan Africa. It should be charged with offering practical and strategic insight into the promotion of democracy, the prevention of the spread of AIDS and other diseases, economic development, education and human rights and other aspects of improving life--such as eliminating hunger-for the average person in Africa.

The panel should submit a country-by-country analysis as well as a regional analysis about the problems and challenges and what the United States should be doing regarding Africa.

 Debt relief must be addressed. I plan to reintroduce legislation in the 107<sup>th</sup> Congress that would provide incentives to countries to institute democratic reforms and basic structures of civil society in order to receive debt relief. The problem is that it is the poorest people of the world in the poorest countries who suffer as result of their government's debt.

Canceling or reducing the debt of the poorest countries of the world is an opportunity for the United States to alleviate the suffering these people face. Such debt reduction must ensure that the people will benefit, not dictators and corrupt government officials whose only aim would be to line their own pockets.

## Central Africa

- With the assassination of Congolese President Kabila on January 16, the situation in Central Africa is more complicated than ever. Kabila's son, Joseph, has been tapped the successor but it is unclear how all the Congo's rivals will react. Nevertheless, the United States needs to send a clear--and early--signal that it cares about the fate of Congo. We have ignored it for far too long.
- All foreign armies must be publicly pressured to leave the Congo. In addition, something must be done to disarm, demobilize and resettle the ex-FAR forces, the Interahamwe and the other rebel factions warring in the Congo. The United Nations should immediately put together an "assessment team" to develop a strategy for withdrawal. The United States should speak forcefully and act creatively on this issue. Our failure to speak out during the genocide in Rwanda in 1994 was wrong. We should not remain silent now on the issue of foreign troops. Nearly 2 million people already have died in the Congo. That number should not be allowed to continue to multiply.

# Sudan

- There should be a major effort on the part of the United States, the United Nations and European Union to bring an end to the war in Sudan. Peace has to be a priority of the Bush Administration. Sudan is a litmus test for those who care about human rights, about civil rights, about religious persecution and about hunger. It should be viewed in terms of this decade's "South Africa." The same amount of time, energy and resources should be put into ending the war in Sudan that was put into bringing democracy and freedom to South Africa.
- A full-time, high-profile, envoy should be appointed by the President to help bring peace to Sudan. This person must be of national significance and stature, such as former Secretary of State Jim Baker or former U.N. Ambassador Richard Holbrooke. The envoy must be someone the President has confidence in, and who has a real interest in seeing the conflict in Sudan resolved. The envoy also must have the President's ear.

- Our allies in the region should be pressured to become more engaged.
   Egypt, for example, has tremendous influence over the Khartoum
   regime. The United States has given more than \$45 billion in foreign
   aid to Egypt since the Camp David Accords were signed in 1978. We
   should use that leverage. The Egyptians should not be sitting by
   silently.
- The United States must get serious and specific with the Khartoum government and the international community about slavery and the incessant aerial bombing of civilian targets. The United States Holocaust Museum has issued a genocide warning for Sudan. More than 2 million people have died in Sudan and more than 4 million have been driven from their homes in the past 17 years as the result of the civil war.
- The United States must support systems of local governance and sustenance in southern Sudan. Operation Lifeline Sudan, which has cost billions, is subject to the control of the government of Sudan. It has been manipulated by Khartoum to suit its objectives. The government claims that its territorial integrity is violated by foreign NGOs in the south trying to help the people it claims as citizens. Until the fighting actually ends and there is peace, the United States should support the SPLM.
- Rep. Tom Tancredo of Colorado plans to introduce the Sudan Peace Act later this month. A similar measure authored by Sen. Bill Frist of Tennessee passed the House and the Senate in the last Congress but was never brought to conference. In its current form, it calls on the Administration to devise a comprehensive and effective policy toward Sudan and suggests a number of reforms and sanctions. I strongly urge the new Administration to support this legislation and work with a bipartisan group of Members in Congress who have a continuing interest in the future of Sudan.
- The national and international media needs to focus on the war, death and destruction in southern Sudan. Too few know of the atrocities. If the media were to bring attention to this struggle like it did in the Balkans, the world would become galvanized in support of southern Sudan.

### **CONCLUSION**

The Bush Administration and the Congress have a great opportunity to make a real difference in Africa. Now is the time to seize it. Africa--and the world--is watching. We can help provide hope and opportunity to these people who have suffered so much, particularly in southern Sudan and Central Africa. More than 4 million people combined have died in Sudan and in the Congo. Four million. The number is staggering. We cannot allow such suffering to continue. I was pleased to learn that the Africa bureau was the first section area new Secretary of State Colin Powell visited at the State Department. It was a small step, but an extremely positive one. I am also pleased that Secretary Powell addressed Africa during his confirmation hearing.

Lastly, I would like to acknowledge and salute all those in Central Africa and southern Sudan who have come from around the world to help bring peace and improve the living conditions. The ambassadors and embassy staff, the NGO representatives, doctors and medical staff, and the clergy, all of whom are there at great personal risk, are truly making a difference. I am proud of the job they are doing.

I also want to thank my staff and others who helped make my trip such a success. Their work is much appreciated.

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