

JON S. CORZINE
NEW JERSEY

BANKING, HOUSING, AND
URBAN AFFAIRS
BUDGET
FOREIGN RELATIONS

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-3004

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502 SENATE HART OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20510
(202) 224-4744

ONE GATEWAY CENTER
11TH FLOOR
NEWARK, NJ 07102
(973) 645-3030

208 WHITE HORSE PIKE
SUITE 18-19
BARRINGTON, NJ 08007
(856) 757-5353

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Bush:

I am writing once again to urge immediate action in response to the crisis in Darfur. Specifically, I ask that your Administration expedite its determination as to whether genocide is taking place and, concurrent with such deliberation, act now to prevent future acts of genocide.

As you know, tens of thousands of Muslim civilians of African descent have been killed in militia attacks sanctioned by the government of Sudan. Over one million Darfurians have been violently displaced from their homes and are at risk of dying, by deliberate design, of famine and disease in holding camps overseen by Sudanese authorities. Andrew Natsios, Administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development, has provided a "conservative" estimate that over 300,000 Muslim African civilians, mostly women and children, will soon die as a direct result of Khartoum's policies. Mr. Natsios has also warned that up to a million are at risk.

While I applaud Secretary of State Colin Powell's plans to visit Darfur, and USAID's efforts to provide humanitarian assistance, events in that region have gone past the point where verbal condemnations, limited deliveries of aid, or even economic sanctions can reverse the tidal wave of horror. A policy of deliberately facilitating the deaths of thousands can only be answered with decisive, resolute and collective action by the international community. Leadership to prompt such action can only come from the United States.

I therefore urge you to expedite your Administration's legal review of the genocide question. As you are aware, Article 2 of the Genocide Convention defines as genocide any act "committed with intent to destroy in whole or in part a national, ethnic, racial or religious group as such ... (including) killing members of the group (or) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part." Undisputed reports by international experts and by the U.S. Government have confirmed widespread attacks that fit this description. Your Administration has confirmed the Khartoum regime's support for and coordination with the forces attacking and imprisoning starving civilians. Khartoum itself has explained its actions as a response to what

it calls a rebellion by the ethnic Africans of Darfur -- the Fur, Saghawa and Masalit peoples -- thus removing any doubt that its policies are ethnically based.

Unfortunately, the State Department has, according to its spokesperson, delayed its determination on the genocide question until an "appropriate" time. Given the clear, undisputed reports from Darfur, I would urge that now is the appropriate time for your Administration to declare that genocide is occurring. One of the underlying principles of the Genocide Convention is to prompt preventive action before it is too late. An immediate, unqualified statement from your Administration would provide a critical impetus for collective action by the United Nations and our European and regional African partners.

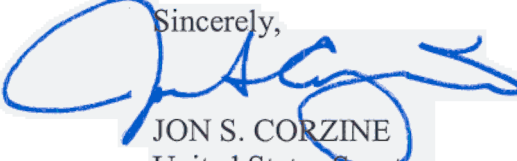
I also urge you to set in motion a vigorous American and international response to the outrages in Darfur. Your Administration should apply maximum pressure on the UN Security Council to mandate intervention in Sudan, both humanitarian and military, under the Security Council's binding authority (Chapter VII of the UN Charter). It should pressure our principal partners in Europe and Africa to support and implement UNSC-authorized actions, including not only immediate and effective intervention to prevent greater loss of life, but also the establishment of an internationally overseen process for negotiating a peaceful solution and accountability for crimes against humanity in Darfur.

As you are aware, Secretary Powell and Secretary General Annan are going to Darfur this week. Mr. Annan, recalling the 1994 Rwanda genocide, has already called for international troops, under UN authority, to intervene on an urgent and humanitarian basis. There have also been repeated bipartisan calls from Republican and Democratic members of both houses of Congress for swift and effective U.S. and UN action. But unless there is action to back up these exhortations, the Sudanese government will come to believe that it can murder innocent civilians with impunity. Khartoum has repeatedly demonstrated its bad faith and murderous intent, failing to keep its promises to halt attacks and permit delivery of humanitarian aid, and making no attempt to abide by its promise to disarm the militias leading the killing in Darfur. The regime has shown itself impervious to international condemnations, but sensitive to evidence of international resolve.

Your Administration can bring about this resolve by making the one finding that would signal to Khartoum that it cannot get away with its crimes in Darfur, and that would show the world that mass killings of African peoples matter to the United States. It can direct all diplomatic tools and pressures at the UN Security Council to obtain Chapter VII authority for international action in Darfur and at our partners in Europe and Africa to mount an immediate and effective humanitarian and military intervention.

We must not wait until genocide is nearing conclusion before we formally recognize our moral and legal obligations to stop it. Nor can we wait before acting in accordance with those obligations.

I greatly appreciate your efforts in this regard.

Sincerely,

JON S. CORZINE
United States Senator