Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity

and for sharing your eloquent statement with us.

No one can question that the genocide in Darfur is a human

rights and a humanitarian catastrophe of the first order. The challenge

we and the world face is what to do about it.

The Bush administration and Members of Congress have devoted

a great deal of time and attention to this problem and much has

been accomplished. A Presidential Special Envoy for Sudan has

been appointed to coordinate United States policy in this effort.

Since 2004, the United States has provided over $2 billion in assistance

to help meet humanitarian needs in Darfur and in eastern

Chad. We have facilitated the deployment of African Union forces,

and we have led efforts at the United Nations, often in the face of

vigorous opposition by China and others to get a larger, more robust

United States peacekeeping mission deployed in Darfur. Without

question, the United States has demonstrated a resolute commitment

to confronting the genocide in Darfur. But it is not

enough, and the killing continues.

Despite our successes, the reality is that we cannot solve this

problem in Sudan by ourselves. We need the assistance of other

countries. However, from the beginning of this crisis, the United

States has had to drag other nations, at a minimum condemning

the mass murder in Darfur and holding the perpetrators accountable

for these deplorable crimes. I recall being in Geneva for a

meeting of the former U.S. Commission of Human Rights and witnessing

how members of the African group of nations were aligning

themselves with the organization of Islamic countries to protect the

Sudanese regime from criticism while scores of innocent human

beings continued to be slaughtered.

And as we commemorate the grim anniversary of the Rwandan

genocide, this human rights body failed to take a firm, unequivocal

stance to fully address the situation in Darfur. This pattern of inaction

continued at the U.S. Security Council where the United

States has to pressure members of the Security Council, including

those of the Arab League, of which Sudan is a member, into taking

action regarding Darfur. Far from contributing to resolving this humanitarian

crisis, countries such as China are actively courting the

Sudanese regime in their pursuit of oil and influence, thereby undercutting

our efforts in the United States to bring pressure on the

regime to end its practice of genocide.

And despite their loud verbal support, the European states have

been reluctant to take substantive action and have all but ruled

out a direct intervention despite their undoubted capacity to do so.

The question thus becomes: What can the United States reasonably

accomplish on its own? The former Assistant Secretary of

State for African Affairs under the Clinton administration, Susan

Rice, recently wrote in a *Washington Post* editorial that given the

continued intransigence by the Sudanese regime, the solution lies

in unilateral intervention by United States forces. She says the

United States should press for U.N. resolution that issues Sudan

an ultimatum: Accept unconditional deployment of the U.N. force

within 1 week or face military consequences. The resolution would

authorize enforcement by U.N. member states collectively or individually.

She continues: The United States, preferably with NATO

involvement and African political support, would strike Sudanese

airfields, aircraft and other military assets and blockade Port

Sudan. And concludes if the U.S. fails to gain U.N. support, we

should act without it.

In another opinion piece, former Assistant Secretary Rice wrote

that the United States should begin urgent military planning and

preparation for the contingency that no other country will act to

stop the dying in Darfur. While I agree that in the face of this terrible

problem in Darfur, all options must be on the table. I would

suggest that such an action would be one of the last resorts. We

must carefully consider whether launching an armed intervention

in Sudan at this time will actually bring peace to Darfur or if it

will only further imperil the civilian population.

To this end, I am eager to discuss options in confronting genocide

in Darfur and related issues. For example, have recent efforts by

Governor Bill Richardson to negotiate directly with the Sudanese

Government regarding the deployment of peacekeepers, has that

been successful? What can be done to ensure that the African

Union facilitates the rapid transition of its contingent in Sudan

into a larger peacekeeping mission?

And, finally, let me note that I support the President’s initiative

known as Plan B, especially the administration’s decision as reported

in the press to have the Treasury Department block commercial

bank transactions benefiting the Sudanese regime, including

those regarding its oil revenues, if the regime does not cooperate

in ending the slaughter in Darfur.

Mr. Ambassador, I hope that you will provide the committee with

as much candor as you can. I know that we have already had a

classified briefing before this with further details on this and other

components of Plan B.

Let me conclude by saying that the situation we face in Sudan

is a difficult one and deciding the most effective policy will take a

toll on all involved. But one thing is certain, the barbaric slaughter

of innocent civilians in Darfur will continue until someone steps in

to stop it.

And Mr. Chairman, I seek unanimous consent that a statement

by Stephen Morrison and Bates Gill of the Center for Strategic and

International Studies be included in the record, and I thank you for

the time, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and

thank you for your long-time leadership on this humanitarian crisis.

Thank you, Mr. Ambassador. It is a pleasure to see you again.

I wanted to ask you three questions regarding China. You have indicated

that the United States and China, we hope, may have more

in common in terms of policy toward Sudan than it would appear.

If you could elaborate on where we might come to terms, and given

their vast commercial interest in Sudan, are the Chinese truly

ready do you believe to take a firm stand alongside the United

States and press for a resolution in Darfur? And secondly, now that

China has apparently changed its posture, would Beijing be willing

to support the expansion of sanctions against individuals imposed

by the U.N. Security Council? And thirdly, if you could detail the

nature of China’s relationship with the Sudanese military establishment,

is China a major source of weapons for the Sudanese

armed forces? Is it cash? In what way are they a problem there?

Thank you, Mr. Ambassador.