Thank you very much.

Good morning and thank you, Chairman Smith and Ranking

Member Lantos, for calling this morning’s hearing; and thank you,

Members of the Committee, for your continuing concern for Sudan.

Mr. Chairman, with your permission, I would like to submit my

written testimony for the record.

Thank you.

I am pleased to join you to discuss this important topic of the

prospect for peace in Darfur.

President Bush has directed the Members of his Administration

to play a leadership role internationally in the effort to resolve the

situation in Darfur. Just as United States Government commitment

and leadership helped to resolve the 22-year long north-south

element of the Sudan conflict, the President’s goal has been for the

United States to lead the way toward stability and peace in the

Darfur region.

Darfur has been a crisis of major humanitarian proportions. Over

220,000 civilians have fled their homes and become refugees in

neighboring Chad. There are approximately 2 million Darfurians

who are internally displaced; hundreds of thousands have died

from famine, disease and violence. In response, the U.S. Government

has worked to find a political solution that will pave the way

to a just and lasting peace.

The first week of May marked an important turning point in the

negotiations that had been under way in Abuja, Nigeria, for some

time. On May 1st, I joined Deputy Secretary of State Robert

Zoellick on a trip to Abuja to support the African Union mediation

and work out a settlement on the established timeline. On May

5th, the Sudanese Government and the largest military rebel group

in Darfur, led by Minni Minnawi, signed the Darfur Peace Agreement,

the DPA.

This agreement is the culmination of sustained and successful

mediation by the African Union, bolstered by senior level United

States and international diplomatic efforts. This agreement represents

an important step toward an historic opportunity to build

a peaceful, democratic and secure future for the people of Darfur.

This comprehensive agreement is built around three key elements.

The first involves security arrangements, the second involves

political power sharing, and the last one involves wealth

sharing.

With regard to security, this agreement requires the Government

of Sudan to present a plan within 37 days for disarming the

Janjaweed; and it calls for a complete verifiable disarmament of

the Janjaweed militia by mid-October 2006. Various milestones on

the way to this goal are delineated, as is the sequence requiring

the Janjaweed and other armed militias to completely disarm before

the rebel forces must do likewise.

Congressman Royce and Congressman Engel both asked how we

can be sure that this is going to occur. It is important to note that

President Bush has directed his Administration—Secretary Rice in

particular—to go to the UN Security Council to get a resolution to

pave the way for a UN peacekeeping operation which will be key

to the implementation of the Darfur Peace Agreement.

We had a resolution passed on the 16th of May, UN Security

Council Resolution 1679, which does pave that way. It will be an

important element of implementation.

Congressman Engel, President Bush has also called for, and

worked with, NATO to provide the various types of assistance that

you outlined, enabling assistance which would include logistics,

planning, intelligence, and communication—all so that we can immediately

support and assist the African Union mission, AMIS,

which is on the ground now.

So we are looking both in the immediate term to use NATO

enablers to beef up the capability and in the longer term, i.e., within

the next 6 months or so, to get the UN peacekeeping operation

on the ground.

The second element of the Darfur Peace Agreement is in the political

sphere. The agreement outlines a power-sharing consensus

that gives the fourth most senior position within the Sudanese

Government of National Unity presidency to the rebel movement.

This new job of Senior Assistant to the President and Chairperson

of the Transitional Darfur Regional Authority is designed to

allow the officeholder to oversee implementation of the Darfur

Peace Agreement. There will be 10 commissions of this Darfur Regional

Authority, eight of which are to be led by movement members.

This chairperson will also serve as Darfur’s senior representative

in Khartoum.

Again, when you ask about how we can ensure implementation,

what is built into power sharing is that the movement will have

the primary responsibility for overseeing that implementation in

the region through this Darfur Regional Authority and through its

10 commissions, of which eight will be led by the movement.

The agreement also establishes a democratic process for the region

to choose through popular referenda no later than July 2010

whether to establish a regional government or retain the status

quo of three regions in Darfur.

Third, the agreement outlines a wealth-sharing plan within

Sudan. The Government of National Unity is slated to create a

forum for Darfur’s reconstruction and development. The government’s

first contribution of $300 million will be followed by $200

million contributions for each of the following 2 years.

The agreement additionally established a commission to work

with the United Nations to help refugees and displaced persons return

to their homes, while also creating a commission to provide

compensation to victims of the conflict.

Clearly, the international community will continue to provide the

humanitarian assistance, the development and reconstruction assistance

that will help to implement this third element of the

Darfur Peace Agreement on wealth sharing.

This agreement is comprehensive in its reach. When it will be

implemented, it will be a great accomplishment and enormously

beneficial to civilians who have suffered so much in this conflict.

The Administration remains committed to working with Congress

to end the suffering in Darfur and will continue to provide

the extension of substantial food aid, development and reconstruction

assistance and support for the creation of a robust United Nations

peacekeeping operation that will protect civilians and create

the conditions for displaced persons to return safely to their homes.

With this agreement, we have charted a path to lasting peace.

There is much work to be done, as Congressman Watson says, but

there is also good reason to believe that we will reach our common

goal of peace and stability in Darfur.

Thank you again for inviting me to testify about this important

issue, and I look forward to answering your questions.

Thank you. Thank you, Chairman Smith.

On your question about the AU mandate and whether it would

be an enhanced mandate, as well as the UN mandate on the AU

mandate, I have actually read it because it has been debated quite

a lot; and that mandate does provide for the protection of civilians

in imminent danger. The problem is one of communication of the

mandate; not all of the troops on the ground understand their mandate

clearly.

It has also been a problem in command. Not all of the sector

commanders have enforced that mandate aggressively; and most

importantly, it has been a problem in capability, which is that even

if they have the mandate, they often don’t have the communications,

intelligence and especially the airlift to get to a place of

atrocity quickly to protect the civilians. They come after the fact.

And so I think that we really need, and with the UN, we will

have, is the ability to increase the capability quickly. All of the

paths, Security Council resolutions on Sudan have been under

Chapter 7, and 1679 is also Chapter 7, which would give that robust

mandate to protect civilians. That would be the intent of the

UN peacekeeping mission there. So, yes, I would expect, certainly,

that the United States support an enhanced mandate and also try

to provide the NATO assistance to AMIS immediately so it can actually

carry out its mandate.

I think I will leave to my colleague the question on the humanitarian

situation.

On the issue of trafficking, Mr. Chairman, I will

look into it to try to find out about those allegations.

The one area in which I think the United States, particularly,

can be supportive is to call the AU to have some accountability to

remove any soldiers that have been—there has been an allegation

against them, to call for national accountability as well from the

governments of those soldiers.

I know that the South Africans have taken very aggressive action

against many of their peacekeepers in the Congo that have been

involved in exploitation, and I think also we can more directly deal

with this because we have helped to train, and we will train, some

of the African Union forces that go into Darfur and our training of

them can emphasize the responsibility of peacekeepers not to exploit.

Mr. PIERSON. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

In terms of the question on food aid and will there be a gap, the

short answer is, yes, sir, there will be a gap. Under the instructions

of the President, there is an emergency amount of food aid that

USAID is getting to Sudan. There are 2,850 metric tons of noncereal

commodities that are in Dubai and are being shipped on an

immediate basis to Sudan. They were on the seas, that were going

to be pre-positioned, a total of 4,650 metric tons of noncereal. By

‘‘noncereal’’ in this case, I mean vegetable oil, that was going to be

pre-positioned for delivery, but those ships had been rerouted and

they are going to Port Sudan.

In addition, there are 40,000 metric tons of cereals that are being

purchased in the United States on an emergency basis. A total of

$36.2 million—the value of that 40,000 metric tons is $36.2 million—

that is being purchased on an emergency basis, and then that

will be shipped.

Within the last 2 weeks—in many situations such as this, the

United States makes a very strong commitment, and the United

States fulfills that commitment. The challenge often is to make

sure that others who have made the commitments, that they fulfill

them, and within the last 2 weeks, there have been demarches that

have gone to 24 other countries, requesting that they fulfill on an

immediate basis the food aid that they had committed.

Our staff, including our new Administrator, our Director of Foreign

Assistance, are making personal calls to try to ensure that

these commitments are made; and it is also my understanding that

the Government of Sudan has, we are told, a sizable amount of

food stocks and has committed 20,000 metric tons of food to Darfur.

That is the first commitment they have made. There is no assurance

at all that that commitment will be fulfilled, but nevertheless,

that is the picture.

Thank you, Congressman. On the ongoing investigation

for the International Criminal Court, as you know, the United

States has said that we would provide assistance to the International

Criminal Court if they asked for it. They haven’t asked

the United States for assistance, so we assume that those investigations

are going on and that they are, I guess, not needing our

assistance at this time.

As far as I know, Congressman, they haven’t come

back to us and asked us for any type of assistance in terms of information

on any particular individuals.

We continue to work with the UN Security Council under Resolutions

1591 and 1593, and as you know, we have put sanctions on

four individuals, and I know that that investigation with the highlevel

panel was continuing. And we provide information; we provide

names to the UN Security Council.

But on the ICC, to my knowledge, Congressman, they haven’t

come to us and asked us for any assistance. But—I will try to find

out more and see if there is anything more that we can do, but we

stand ready to assist them.

Thank you.

As far as the situation in Chad and in Sudan, the African Union,

particularly Libya and Sassou-Nguesso, the President of Congo,

Brazzaville, have tried to broker some understanding between

President Deby and President Bashir to try to reduce the tension

on their border.

We think that it is important to get that UN Peacekeeping Operation

there, which would be able to help to secure that border. You

know, a larger force is necessary so that you don’t have the movement

of rebels back and forth.

Clearly, the Government of Chad has made allegations that the

Government of Sudan has been funding and supporting an army of

some of the rebels that attacked in N’Djamena, and I think the African

Union is investigating those charges.

And, again, we will be providing information. If we have any information

on those allegations, we will provide it to the AU at their

request.

But we are working with the AU in terms of trying to get both

parties to not support rebels in each other’s territory; and I think

ultimately, as I said, it is important to get the African Union and

transition to a UN peacekeeping operation so we can increase the

numbers. As a matter of force generation, AU simply doesn’t have

the numbers to secure that border.

And on the eastern front, this is clearly a case where we need

to do all that we can to prevent the type of insurgency, that has

taken place in Darfur because of the marginalization of the people,

from occurring in the east; and we are working, again, partly with

the AU.

They have looked to Libya and to Eritrea to try to broker negotiations

between the government, particularly the Beja community.

But I also think it is important for the Government of Sudan to

take a strategic decision, which we haven’t seen yet. Most of the

decisions are tactical and based on pressure from the international

community. They haven’t yet taken a strategic decision to end the

marginalization of the people across Sudan, and that is what is

needed.

It is not pressure from outsiders; it is for the government to recognize

that when they signed the Comprehensive Peace Agreement

and ended the 22-year civil war, implementation of that agreement

as a national document in which all elements of Sudanese society

have a role in power-sharing and role-sharing in the country is important.

And that type of strategic decision is something, I think,

perhaps a country like Libya could help the Government of Sudan

to understand.

When Libya was trying to acquire weapons, they changed. They

said, okay, no more, you know, and they made a fundamental strategic

decision to change; and that is what is really needed from the

Government of Sudan.

But in the meantime, as they take tactical decisions, the United

States will continue to work with the AU to try to facilitate any

mediation to prevent another outbreak in eastern Sudan.

That is right.

Thank you, Congressman Payne.

I think that the Senior Assistant and Chairperson on the transitional

Darfur Regional Authority is actually a position that is very

powerful. As you say, it is still on paper; it has to be implemented.

We believe that we will have to continue to have international

support and monitoring to push for whoever is selected for that position

to support their role, just as we support the Government of

Southern Sudan and the First Vice President, Salva Kiir, in his

role within the Government of National Unity.

Clearly, it is not a matter of us saying, okay, go forth and do

your job based on the authorities given to you by the agreement.

It is a matter of us providing assistance, of providing support.

The movements, as you know, will need quite a lot of capacitybuilding,

quite a lot of training. We are, right now, looking at how

we can support them, how we can even help them communicate the

elements of this agreement back in Darfur. So there is going to be

continuing interaction and support of this individual. Also, the

movements will have to nominate an individual for this position,

and you know that the movements aren’t completely unified at this

point.

So it is both within the movements themselves and getting them

coherent, as well as pushing the Government of National Unity,

which will have Vice President Salva Kiir there, who, I believe, will

help us to ensure the implementation. But the international community’s

role will be critical.

The United States, the European Union, the U.K., and the Arab

League were all witnesses to this agreement, which gives some responsibility

for working with all parties to ensure its implementation.

Yes. Thank you.

The plan for the disarming of the Janjaweed includes the government,

as well as the movement overseeing a commission to see that

disarmament, so it is not just the government itself monitoring, but

the movement will have a critical role to play as well as the international

community.

The AU is supposed to verify that, and we would say, slash, the

UN. And the United States is committing to work with the AU in

the immediate term to try to create some type of civilian protection

unit, verification unit, to help with that process.

As far as the integration of the rebel forces in the Sudan Army,

the agreement provides for 4,000 former combatants to be integrated

into the army; 1,000 former combatants can be integrated

into the police and 3,000 who will work with the government to

support education and training programs, to assist the civilian reconstruction

and development in Darfur.

The percentages are, about 33 percent of groups in the units, as

was described at the talks in Abuja.

Thank you very much, Congresswoman Lee.

I very much think that the community and grassroots movement

that is putting pressure on ending this genocide in Darfur is critically

important, and it makes Americans—it makes me, as an

American, very proud. I mean, I think it reflects how this community

and its government are together on an international issue of

grave concern to the entire community.

As Secretary Rice said—as she was before the UN Security

Council last week, she said that the world will judge us for our actions

as an international community, and the United Nations, as

a body, for peace and how we respond to the challenges in Darfur.

So I think that it is absolutely critical.

I was struck by—I have gone across the country. I was at Howard

recently, then I went to Harvard. I was at New York University.

I have been out and talking to the community about the situation

in Darfur and in Africa as a whole; and every single time in

the United States, the majority of the questions I get are about

Sudan and Darfur.

I was just in the U.K., at Chatham House, and I had one question

on Sudan, and it made me realize how important it is not only

for our community to reach out to other Americans, but to reach

out to community organizations across the world to build an international

coalition to end this genocide in Darfur. That is critically

important.

It is important, one, so that we speak with one voice as an international

community to the Government of Sudan. And it is also important

so that that those communities can get their governments

to provide more assistance—food aid, humanitarian assistance and

support for the United Nations peacekeeping operation—which we

all know is critical both to implementation of the Darfur peace

agreement, but just for saving lives today, immediately.

So I think that it is, one, a moral responsibility. I think it is also

practically important. And I think the next phase for American

communities is to reach out to constituents globally, in African

countries, in European countries, in the Middle East.

Egypt is extremely important to us in terms of its role in the Security

Council, in terms of pushing the Arab League to push the

Government of Sudan to allow the UN to come in.

So it is key, and I am very proud of the role that Americans are

playing.

Right.

Thank you. I will start with Congresswoman McCollum,

although she is not here. I just want to be very clear, for the

record, there is no suggestion that the Janjaweed would be inte-

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grated. I was talking about the Sudan People’s—the SLM, Sudan

Liberation Movement and the Sudan Liberation Army, which is led

by Minni Minnawi, who has signed the agreement; Abdel Wahed,

who we hope will sign the agreement.

But not at all the Janjaweed. The plan for the Janjaweed is to

disarm them.

I also would just like to respond to her question about why hasn’t

the Janjaweed been designated as a foreign terrorist organization.

Obviously, there is a legal process for designation that one would

have to go through.

And we share her outrage about the atrocities that have been

carried out by the government and its support for these militia

groups, but what we need to do is end these atrocities. That doesn’t

preclude looking at how—if—whether we can treat them as a foreign

terrorist organization of an international order, like al-Qaeda

and others.

The references in the report that she talked about are clearly

designated international terrorist organizations, legal definition. So

outrage, yes, about the atrocities, but let us deal with those atrocities

on their own.

On the question of the—the question that Congressman Jackson

Lee asked—and she is still here—let me answer that. On the detailed

action plan for getting a robust peacekeeping mission, we

have been working very closely with the United Nations and Kofi

Annan. Secretary Rice and President Bush both have had many

conferences with him. Secretary Rice, as you know, last week went

to the UN Security Council to get a resolution passed, 1679, that

will pave the way for those peacekeepers to get there, including

calling on the Government of Sudan to allow the assessment mission

to go so that Kofi Annan can write his plan of action.

Yes, absolutely. And also the United States is currently

reaching out to force-contributing countries, potentially force

contributing countries. And we also have in that, that the AU

should reach out both to the UN and working with other regional

and international organizations, like NATO, to provide that enabling

assistance immediately, which can carry over to a UN operation

so it can stand up rather quickly. So we do have a plan of

action for addressing it.

Thank you.