The Committee will come to order. The challenges

we face today in Sudan are perhaps among the most difficult

of our time. On the one hand, the peaceful resolution of a decades-

long civil war between the North and South is critical, an

opening that could provide untold opportunities for peace, economic

development and democratic aspirations.

On the other hand, a genocidal conflict rages in the Darfur region

of western Sudan, a conflict which claims up to 10,000 lives per month.

Finally, the odious regime responsible for atrocities in both of

those wars has offered the United States valuable support in the

global war on terrorism. It is all too easy to see one of these developments

as more important than the other, but I believe that

would be a mistake. Let us learn the lessons of our past failures in Sudan.

The war between the North and South claimed the lives of over

2 million Sudanese and was punctuated by incredible brutality, including

indiscriminate attacks against civilians, forcible conscription,

enslavement, mass murder, arson and rape. The United

States poured hundreds of millions of dollars into humanitarian relief

for Sudan but never bothered to engage in a high-level effort

to resolve the conflict until President Bush appointed Senator John

Danforth as a special envoy in 2001.

In the 1990s, when the war between the Government in Khartoum

and rebels in the South was at its peak, the Sudanese Government

sought a diplomatic rapprochement with the United

States. Khartoum, we were told, was willing to turn over a very

well-known terrorist to U.S. law enforcement. But because of the

war between North and South, and because of concerns about

Khartoum’s atrocious conduct in the war, the offer was refused.

Later, President Clinton described his failure to accept that offer

as the biggest mistake of his Presidency. The terrorist was Osama bin Laden.

In Darfur today, the Sudanese Government is employing many

of the same tactics it used in the South. No one knows the precise

number of those who have perished as a result of the genocide, but

numerous observers place the figure at roughly 300,000. Over 2

million Darfurians have been forced from their homes. Entire villages

have been razed. There are widespread reports of arbitrary

killing, abduction, looting, torture and rape.

Now, just as in the 1990s, reports of a visit to the United States

by the Sudanese intelligence chief, who allegedly has shared valuable

information relating to the war on terrorism, have sparked

outrage among those who rightly are concerned by genocide in Darfur.

In this context, there are three temptations that must be resisted

today. The first is to focus solely on the crisis in Darfur at the expense

of solidifying the historic North-South Peace Accord. The second,

is to allow the end of the conflict between North and South

to blind us to the grave human tragedy unfolding in Darfur. The

third, is to allow the Government of Sudan’s reported cooperation

in the war on terrorism to outweigh all of the above.

There will be no easy answers, but we must hold these three

equally vexing challenges in our heads and be sure that we do not

sacrifice one challenge to meet the others. The consequences of

shortsightedness, as we saw on September 11, 2001, and continue

to see today in Darfur, are horrifying. Before turning to the esteemed

Ranking Democratic Member, allow me to note that the

Committee will entertain 1-minute remarks by any Member who

feels compelled to make them.

I do, however, encourage restraint. We have a great deal to cover

today, and we want to make sure that we allow enough time for questions.

With that, I turn to my friend, the distinguished Ranking Democratic

Member Tom Lantos, for his opening remarks.

Thank you, Mr. Lantos.

We will now entertain 1-minute statements for those who wish

to make them.

We are very fortunate to have the Deputy Secretary

of State, Robert B. Zoellick, with us today. Prior to his current

appointment, Mr. Zoellick served as the 13th U.S. Trade Representative

and as Undersecretary of State for Economic and Agricultural Affairs.

From 1985 to 1988, Mr. Zoellick served at the Department of

Treasury as Counselor to Secretary James Baker, Executive Secretary

of the Department and Deputy Assistant Secretary for Financial

Institutions Policy.

Mr. Zoellick has also served as Executive Vice President at

Fannie Mae, Professor of National Security at the Naval Academy,

research scholar at the Belfer Center for Science and International

Affairs at Harvard, and Senior International Advisor to Goldman Sachs.

Mr. Zoellick, I am pleased that you are serving as the Secretary’s

point man on Sudan. You are a seasoned veteran who undoubtedly

is up to the task. I do, however, seek your assurances that the Administration’s

interest in Sudan does not end with you. The overlapping

and complex crises in Sudan not only deserve but absolutely

require serious and sustained attention by both the Secretary

of State and the President.

I should note that I have been working with the gentleman from

New Jersey, Don Payne, and other Members of this Committee to

develop bipartisan legislation which keeps pressure on the regime

in Khartoum to end the crisis in Darfur and encourages the expansion

of the African Union mission in Darfur so that it achieves the

size, capacity, and mandate necessary to provide civilian protection

and offers the President maximum flexibility to support the deployment

and reinforcement of such an expanded mission.

I look forward to working with you to see that these critically important

objectives are realized.

Mr. Zoellick, please proceed.

Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary.

Excuse me, Mr. Payne. I am informed that Mr.

Zoellick must leave at 12:30. So I would appreciate any succinctness

we can muster in asking questions.

The gentlelady’s time has expired some time

ago. Sorry, Mr. Zoellick.

Ms. McCollum is recognized for 30 seconds. Thank you.

The last questioner before our Secretary has to

go, Mr. Tancredo.

Well, I want to thank you, Mr. Zoellick, for

your marvelous testimony, very instructive. This is obviously a

matter that will continue to occupy our attention, and we look forward

to hearing from you again very soon.

Thank you. The Committee stands adjourned.