The hearing will come to order.

My apologies to all for the delay. But, obviously we had three

votes, and I thought it was more important for us to able to be here

in a continuum. And I appreciate everybody’s understanding and

indulgence.

And, General, thank you very much for being willing to be patient.

We appreciate it.

We do have another pressure on us, which is, we have a backend

use of this room, which is also competing with us. So, we’re

going to have to try to see if we can do this within the framework

of about an hour, an hour and 15 minutes, which I think will be

possible and adequate.

I know, General, you will not be sad that your time before us will

be somewhat limited.

We’re very pleased to welcome you back here, General. I appreciate

your service as the President’s special envoy for Sudan. And

I know you’re just back from your travels in East Africa.

And this is, I think, by most people’s perception, a critical moment

for Sudan. A lot of emergencies come with little warning, and

we have to react to them. But, in Sudan today, we not only have

a map of the fault lines that exist, but we have a timetable for the

potential tectonic shifts that are going to take place in the days to

come. So, we have a lot of warning about what may or may not

take place in this part of the world.

In January 2011, a short time from now, the people of Southern

Sudan are scheduled to vote in a referendum on independence.

Every credible poll predicts that the outcome will be a vote for separation.

Multiple experts also tell us that if the referendum does

not take place on time, then the renewal of a war that claimed 2

million lives becomes a tragic possibility, perhaps even likelihood.

Far less certain is how you find a peaceful path forward. Southern

Sudan is not preordained as a failed state, but its fragility is

very, very clear. And neither the modalities for peaceful separation

nor the mechanisms for successful governance currently exist.

So, we all understand the stakes. According to Director of

National Intelligence Dennis Blair, while a number of countries in

Asia and Africa are at significant risk of a new outbreak of mass

killings over the next 5 years, Southern Sudan is the place where,

‘‘a new mass killing or genocide is most likely to occur.’’

The implications of Sudan’s instability do not end at its borders.

Countries dependent on the Nile’s waters, or anxious about their

own separatist movements, have concerns. Southern Sudan’s neighbors

worry about an exodus of refugees. And the Lord’s Resistance

Army continues to wreak havoc across Southern Sudan, the Democratic

Republic of Congo, and the Central African Republic.

The 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement, or CPA, as we often

refer to it, was intended to create a very different future. The

larger peace crafted by that agreement has held. But, hopes for

democratic transformation, an ambitious goal for just 5 years, have

gone unfulfilled.

Last month, Sudan held its first national elections in a quarter

century, as were called for under the CPA. The Sudan People’s Liberation

Movement and other opposition parties ultimately boycotted

the elections in the North, citing intimidation, voter fraud,

and other acts. The White House and most independent observers

described the process as ‘‘seriously flawed.’’

Today, we would like to understand the significance of the balloting,

but we also need to look at the larger picture of the challenges

that Sudan faces. That includes, still, Darfur, where the current

deadlock leaves many people in camps, trapped in what our

top diplomat in Sudan described to me as ‘‘a miserable stasis.’’

Others in areas such as Jebel Marra are exposed to renewed

fighting with Khartoum’s old tactics, causing new waves of anguish,

civilian casualties, and displacement.

While the CPA provides a timetable for North and South, there

is no clear timetable or agenda for a peace agreement in Darfur.

For those in the camps, 7 years after the onset of the genocide, the

questions remain the same: land, security, justice, and compensation.

We need to find a way for their voices to be heard, and we

need to empower Darfur’s civil society, not simply its armed men.

We must also ensure continued humanitarian assistance to millions

of people in need in Darfur, including vital protection programs

that were lost when Khartoum expelled 13 aid groups in

March 2009. And we should explore whether simultaneous early recovery

activities can be pursued in tandem with humanitarian aid

in order to make lives better for the long-suffering people of

Darfur.

With a timetable for one potential calamity laid out before us,

and an ongoing crisis still playing out in Darfur, this is the moment

for contingency planning, ensuring that we have the resources

in place to respond to events and working proactively with

the Sudanese, North and South, the U.N., Sudan’s neighbors, and

other partners, from preventing the worst from coming to pass.

Given Dennis Blair’s warning, the stakes are clear. And our window

to help the Sudanese people find a peaceful solution is rapidly

closing. It’s time for Congress to reengage on Sudan. As the CPA

nears its final act, I am developing legislation to help shape our

Sudan policy and ensure that our policy maximizes the chances of

peace. The bill we’re working on will seek to reframe United States

assistance, prepare for the potential changes that may come, accelerate

contingency planning, send important signals to Khartoum,

Juba, and other partners, and build United States diplomatic and

development capacity to address what may become a very difficult

season in the life of Africa’s largest country.

I look forward to working with the administration and my colleagues

here today to lay the groundwork for meeting the complex

challenge that we face.

Our sole witness this morning is Gen. Scott Gration, the President’s

special envoy to Sudan. And, given the regional stakes, we

would have welcomed another witness from the State Department

to share a broader perspective, but we do appreciate USAID’s

willingness to contribute to the discussion and provide a written

statement.

Well, thank you, General. We appreciate the

summary very much, and we look forward to a chance to have this

dialogue.

Do you agree, first of all, with Admiral Blair’s assessment, which

both Senator Lugar and I put forward today?

You do. And where would you place—I mean, at

this point in time, post-election and given the dynamics, where

would you place us on that course, at this point?

Is it safe to say we’re behind?

How far behind?

Exactly what—give me the order of priority.

What has to happen here to make this work?

Will all of those steps require the cooperation—

in fact, the full, almost, leadership of the North?

Who’s driving that right now, General?

But, it’s also fair to say that, I mean, the North

has obvious reservations about the outcome of that referendum.

Has anything shifted in their attitude about that? Do they fully expect

that referendum to produce a separate——

Is there a referee or catalyst for that right now?

We were the essential ingredient of the creation

of the CPA itself.

Are they still accepting our stewardship/leadership,

with respect to these priorities you’ve just described, in the

same way?

General, do you believe that you have the tools

that you need, yourself, in order to meet that schedule? Or do you

need something more than you have today?

So, you’re saying that part of the next few

months has to be dedicated to preparing for the expectation that

there will be a declaration of independence, and we’re going to have

to deal with a very fragile state at that point. Is that correct?

Are you confident that if they choose independence

and—let’s put it this way. If the modalities are worked out—

the oil, the boundaries, et cetera—I assume your judgment would

be that, if they choose independence, and that’s worked out, that

the prospect for violence goes down significantly. But, if the oil

issue is outstanding and the boundaries remain outstanding, the

odds of violence are very high. Is that——

Yes, we’re going to have to wrap it up in a moment.

Why don’t you go ahead?

Well, let me ask some, because I had a couple

questions, and then we’ll come back to you.

But, let me follow up on what Senator Wicker is

saying, because my own impression is, General—I know you’re

working this as hard as you can; and having been out there and

having dealt with this a little bit, I think you’ve got to have increased

leverage, over these next few months. And, effectively,

what you’re sitting here and saying is, you’ve got enough, and the

Secretary and the Ambassador are doing what’s necessary. If it

doesn’t come together at the current pace, it’s on their doorstep,

according to you.

I think you ought to get a little more leverage into this effort,

because I don’t think it’s going to happen at the current pace, unless

there is additional oomph. Not your—it’s not that you’re not

doing it. It’s not that you’re not there and pushing it. We just all

know what the reservations are here. We all know what the game

is.

And I think if the spotlight isn’t a little more—you know, most

of the world doesn’t have a clue that 2 million people were killed

there. They only think about Darfur. The prospects of that war

reopening are exactly what Dennis Blair has said. And I think it’s

imperative to get this accelerated.

It’s also my understanding—I wanted to ask your comment on

this—that humanitarian agencies are unable to reach as many as

half the rural population in Darfur. Is that accurate today?

Well, that’s also unacceptable at this stage of

where we are in this process. I mean, you know, we got very specific

promises from the government in Khartoum last year, and you

worked on it, I worked on it. We thought we had a sense—‘‘OK,

humanitarian aid’s going back in there and we get in, in full.’’ Now

we know that that government is even involved, according to your

testimony today, in some of the attacks that have taken place. And

I don’t think we’ve progressed as much as many people would have

hoped or would like to see us progress.

So, my sense is, if it isn’t going to just kind of stagger across a

line or be a situation of, you know, kind of a least bad disaster or

something, I think we have to try to up it. We have to here, too.

I think this hearing is for this purpose. But, I think we have to try

to help you to figure out whatever is necessary to try to avoid that.

Because, there’s an unbelievable amount to be done in a short span

of time, more than, probably, one country and one very dedicated

general and his team—which is a significant team—can pull off.

I don’t know how you want to respond to that, but I’ll give you

a chance to.

That’s true. I agree with that. I understand the

camp distinction from the rural areas, which I mentioned. But,

that’s precisely what I’m trying to get at. One would have hoped

that, given the efforts in Doha, given the change in the government,

given your presence, given our new President and our concern

and all of the effort, that, in fact, we wouldn’t be now hearing

about government attacks and, you know, the other kind of violence.

I think that we’re looking for a level of continued progress

that would indicate differently.

One other thing I’d just like to ask you, very quickly—this afternoon

Senator Lieberman and I are going to be rolling out something

called the American Power Act, which is an effort to try to

change America’s energy posture in the world and respond to some

of the demands of climate change in various parts of the world.

It’s my understanding that Darfur, as well as the South of

Sudan, are places where that climate change is, in fact, manifestly

evident today and having an impact on the populations and, indeed,

even on the violence. I wonder if you would perhaps speak

to that. I’m not claiming it’s responsible for genocide or other

things—that’s not what we’re saying—but that environmental factors

have, in fact, exacerbated conflict and is resulting in some contest

over water, wells, and other kinds of things, which results in

violence. Can you speak to that?

That’s going to happen——

And Senator Feingold have already——

We’ve already approved a hearing. Senator Feingold

will have it—at the subcommittee. And we hope to have other

voices there.

I’m not sure when it is. A few weeks. Somewhere

soon.

Thank you.

General Gration, you’ve got a big task. We want to try to be helpful.

And we want to, obviously, be successful. And we want to avoid

this looming emergency, which we are defining here today, and

you’ve defined previously. We all know it’s there. It’s tricky, but we

are here not to do anything except find ways forward and to try

to be helpful with you.